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ABSTRACT

The proceedings of a symposium sponsored by the American Educational Research Association (AERA) Special Interest Group on Research on Women are compiled. The symposium focused on examining the factors which contribute to low incidence of women in both professional and leadership roles. Six papers present research gathered from cross-cultural, cross-institutional, intra-institutional, and peer interaction analysis. The first three papers analyze sex roles and equality between the sexes. The final three papers focus on how peer interaction socializes males and females to play different work roles. In each case, the papers identify a process whereby women are discouraged from pursuing goals and they seek to identify sources of change. The titles and authors are (1) "Sex Role Socialization Patterns in Selected Societies" by Constantina Safilios-Rothschild; (2) "Sex and Discipline Differences in Professional Socialization" by Lucy W. Sells; (3) "Socialization of Sex Roles in the Counseling Setting" by Johanna Shapiro; (4) "Perceptions of Freshwomen Dental and Medical Students by Their Freshmen Peers" by Harold H. Frank and Aaron Honori Katcher; (5) "Sex Status in Teacher Groups" by Katherine Patterson Hall; and (6) "The Modification of Female Leadership Behavior in the Presence of Males" by Marlaine E. Lockheed. (Author/ND)

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RESEARCH ON WOMEN'S ACQUISITION OF PROFESSIONAL AND LEADERSHIP ROLES

The Proceedings of the AERA/SIG: Research on Women
Symposium "Socialization into Professional Roles"
presented at the Annual Meeting of the
American Educational Research Association, Washington, D. C., 1975

Marlaine E. Lockheed, Editor

Educational Testing Service
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INTRODUCTION

Marlaine E. Lockheed

These six papers are the proceedings of a symposium "Socialization into Professional Roles," which was presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Research Association in Washington, D.C. in April of 1975. As the symposium was sponsored by the A.E.R.A. Special Interest Group on Research on Women, the focus on the symposium was on examining the factors which contribute to the low incidence of women in both professional and leadership roles. The papers present research gathered from cross-cultural analysis, from cross-institutional analysis, from intra-institutional analysis, and from the analysis of peer interaction. In each case, the papers identify a process whereby women are discouraged from pursuing professional or leadership goals, and in each case the papers seek to identify sources of change.

The general process whereby women come to occupy few professional or leadership positions is as follows. First, in most cultures and particularly in American culture, sociocultural values ascribe less worth to females than to males. In combination with this lower value attributed to females, most cultures typically socialize their young to believe that both occupational and social roles are differentiated by sex, with members of one sex filling one set of roles and members of the other sex filling the other set of roles. Professional and leadership roles typically fall within the set of roles assigned to males.

There are, of course, individuals in any culture who do not accept the cultural norm and who therefore attempt to assume roles for which they are presumed to be unsuited. When women attempt to assume professional or

leadership roles they are engaging in a deviant activity. Representatives of the cultural party line will then step in and attempt to discourage such atypical behavior. Such representatives may be parents, teachers, counselors, peers. These attempts to correct the deviant woman may meet with either success or failure.

If there is failure, and the woman does manage to achieve a professional or leadership position, the sociocultural devaluing of females will again come into play. Both the deviant woman and her male colleagues will tend to believe that the males are more competent at their professional activity than are the females; although the woman may achieve professional standing she is unlikely to achieve leadership among her male peers. It is this set of propositions about the process whereby females fail to achieve professional or leadership positions that the present set of papers address.

In the first paper, Safilios-Rothschild analyzes the conditions which tend to encourage women to fill sex differentiated roles in several cultures, and then reviews several theoretical bases for cultural changes which bring women out of these roles into sex "de-differentiated" roles. Such macro-sociological changes include major shifts in political ideology entailing social equality as a basic principle, major ideological changes expressed through some kind of a social movement, and crises which create manpower shortages. Changes in sex roles associated with the first two macro-sociological changes may occur due to the increased value attributed to females, while changes in sex roles following crises may be attributed to the existence of temporary role models of women filling a variety of male roles.

Even in a sociocultural climate which espouses an ideology of equality between the sexes, there still may be institutional factors which prevent the equal access of men and women to professional occupations. The Sells paper discusses how the faculty of graduate departments serve as gatekeeper to the professions. Using graduate school dropout as an indicator of unsuccessful socialization into a professional role, Sells argues that the professional and graduate schools have been historically less effective in socializing their female students, even female Woodrow Wilson Fellowship winners, who show the greatest promise for professional success.

The socialization of graduate students by faculty members is largely an informal process; more formal is the counseling provided to student clients by vocational counselors. The Shapiro paper presents experimental evidence supportive of the contention that counselors act as socializing agents, reinforcing both verbally and nonverbally the aspirations of their clients. Client-centered counseling is criticized by this study, which finds that such counselors reinforce both traditional and nontraditional career goals of women. The counselors do not serve as change agents by providing additional information about alternative career choices for either the traditional or the nontraditional women.

The final three papers of this symposium focused on how peer interaction tends to socialize males and females to play different roles in work groups. Frank and Katcher studied peer perceptions, while both Hall and Lockheed studied observable behavior. In all three cases, however, the researchers found that males tended to emerge as leaders in mixed-gender, cooperative, task-oriented groups. Hall and Lockheed explain the findings in terms of interpersonal expectations for competence.

Frank and Katcher studied changes in perceptions of peers in groups of medical and dental students over a one-semester laboratory course. They found that over time, the males tended to be perceived as more task-oriented and more dominant, while the females tended to be perceived as more friendly over time. Task-oriented and dominant females were perceived, however, in groups where there were three females. The authors concluded that informal processes tended to penalize task-oriented and dominant females, especially lone females, but that group composition could be a successful intervention to reduce this tendency.

The Hall study examined how expectations affect behavior in groups of two male and two female teacher trainees engaged in a decision-making task. Males were seen to emerge as more task-oriented and more influential in these groups, even though the number of men and women were balanced. Since these groups were composed of strangers, Hall concluded that widely held expectations for male competence would naturally produce male leadership unless specific interventions were taken.

By studying adolescents, Lockheed showed that expectations for males to fill leadership roles were held among preprofessionals but that the pattern of male leadership could be disrupted. An intervention which consisted of permitting the females to develop expectations for competence at a specific task prior to engaging in the same task with males increased the probability that a female would achieve a leadership role. This study clarifies how diffuse expectations determine behavior and suggests how educational interventions might be designed.

The papers in this symposium underscore that unless specific steps are taken at the sociocultural, the institutional, or the peer level, to intervene against commonly held and widely shared beliefs about the relative value and competence of women, then professional socialization will tend to replicate existing patterns of inequity between men and women.

Sex Role Socialization Patterns in Selected Societies

Constantina Safilios-Rothschild

Wayne State University

Despite the existence of sporadic studies on the changing status of women in a number of societies, there is a paucity of cross-cultural research on sex role socialization. Different types of macrosociological changes have been associated with significant changes in women's options in one or more life sectors but not necessarily with specific changes in sex role socialization patterns. Only major ideological changes such as those involved in Women's Liberation Movements have intentionally had an impact upon sex role socialization. However, a lack of relevant research does not allow us to factually determine the unplanned impact of these changes upon the sex role socialization experiences of children and we can only speculate about the nature and degree of impact. We shall consider the three major types of macrosociological change that have been documented to have significantly affected women's options:

1. Major shifts in political ideologies that entail social equality as a basic principle and that specifically spell out equality between men and women. Marxist and the Maoist sociopolitical theories are outstanding examples of such ideologies, which have been differentially interpreted and implemented in the U.S.S.R., certain Eastern European nations, Cuba and China.

2. Major ideological changes expressed through some kind of a social movement such as the Women's Liberation Movement in the United States or the Sex Role Debate in Scandinavian nations.

3. Crises, especially those creating manpower shortages such as wars, nationalist uprisings, revolutions, and guerrilla warfare (Lipman-Blumen, 1973). With the exceptions of wars, women are usually allowed to actively participate in nationalist uprisings, revolutions, and guerrilla warfare, especially when the risks are quite high and those willing to fight and die represent a valuable resource. Furthermore, the longer such crises last and the more men become involved, the more acute become the manpower shortages in many vital positions and occupations. As these positions must be filled if the society is to continue functioning, women are usually progressively allowed to fill them.

Political Ideologies

Let us first examine what types of, and to what extent, changes in some aspects of the status of women occur as a result of political ideologies that entail social equality as a basic principle and how these changes are or may be linked to changes in sex role socialization patterns. First, in the U.S.S.R. and the Eastern European nations, about which considerable evidence is available, women's educational and occupational options spread over a much wider range than that of most other societies¹ (Barker, 1972; Dodge, 1966; Safilios-Rothschild, 1971). However, a consensus exists that this widening of women's educational and occupational options is not related to women's greater occupational upward mobility, especially to top prestigious, power-in-vested, or decision-making positions (Alzon, 1973; Barker, 1972). Furthermore, no redefinition of men's and women's roles in the family and in the society has occurred, so that women, even when they work in the same occupations as their husbands, have complete responsibility

for housework and child care (Alzon, 1973; Barker, 1972; Safilios-Rothschild, 1974). In fact, Russian women spend, after work, on the average 2.5-4 hours per day in housework and child care and 5 hours on Sunday, working at home 3 times as much as their husbands who enjoy twice as much leisure time as their wives (Alzon, 1973; Barker, 1972).

While no research studies on sex role socialization in the U.S.S.R. or any of the Eastern European nations are available, it is possible to hypothesize about children's socialization messages. In the U.S.S.R. and the Eastern European societies, children perceive on the one hand only a moderate degree of sex-differentiation in educational and occupational choices, and, on the other hand, women predominantly occupying the lower and lower middle strata while men dominate the higher strata in the society. Their perceptions and interpretations of these social inequalities based on sex can be hypothesized, therefore, to be different than those of American children who perceive a greater degree of consistency between educational and occupational sex-differentiation and sex-based inequalities. Furthermore, some interesting and important questions arise: How do boys and girls evaluate men and women, when they are exposed to and socialized by mothers who not only can do whatever their father can in terms of occupation and knowledge but in addition make their lives comfortable and provide for all their needs? Is women's self-esteem in these societies much higher than that of American women? And do men evaluate men and women equally? Much exciting research awaits to be carried out in this area.

Ideological Changes

Several societies have been affected by organized ideologies directly aiming to change the status of women; such ideologies have been either expressed

through social movements, as in the United States, England, Holland, Canada, Australia, or through milder discussions leading to social policy, as in the Scandinavian countries with the Sex Role Debate. Distinctive features of these ideologies, loosely referred to as the Women's Liberation Movement, have been their goals of not only widening women's educational and occupational options and equalizing access to, and treatment of, women in education and employment, but of also redefining the roles of men and women and changing woman-to-woman and man-to-woman interpersonal relations. Because of the equal emphasis on redefining men's and women's roles and on eradicating internalized sex role stereotypes that act as psychological barriers to change, efforts have been made to break down the social structural, as well as the psychological, internalized barriers to sex equality. Thus, some social policy and social pressure has attempted to diminish the degree of sex-differentiation in boys' and girls' socialization experience in school, in reading, in the media, etc. Such efforts have been more systematic and long-lasting in Sweden where, since 1962, girls and boys have been required to take the same courses in elementary school. Thus, boys take cooking, sewing and child care, and girls take manual handicrafts and other "masculine" subjects (Linner, 1971). Elementary school textbooks free of sexism were already available and used in the late 1960's. In addition, legislative changes, such as the normalization of part-time work for men and women, the transformation of maternity leaves into paid six month parental leaves that can be taken in any portion by fathers or mothers, and the availability of 21 days of paid leave per year to fathers and mothers that enable them to stay home and take care of sick children, have all contributed to a partial redefinition of Swedish men's and women's roles (Safilios-Rothschild, 1974). Thus, already in 1969, 11 percent of fathers in Gothenburg were reported as having stayed

home to take care of a sick child and 72 percent of the Swedish husbands shared the responsibility of "washing up" with their wives, 66 percent shared the responsibility of cooking, and 63 percent shared cleaning (The Joint Femal Labor Council, 1971).

In the light of these changes in the school experiences of boys and girls and in the changed nature of the role models provided by mothers and fathers relative to the division of labor and responsibility in the family, it would be expected that young Swedish children would have fewer sex role stereotypes than older children who have benefited less from such recent changes. A study conducted in 1969 in Uppsala, however, reports that boys and girls aged 5, 8, 11 and 15 were equally aware of and influenced by sex role stereotypes, although girls were aware of them earlier and to a greater extent than boys (Dahl, Note 2). Another recent study showed that despite many structural changes, mothers still held a double standard in their expectations for boys and girls; they tended to be much more tolerant of boys' rulebreaking and deviant behavior ("Some Data on Sex Role Socialization in Sweden," 1975). Interestingly enough, the father's role was confined to playing with the children, to consoling them and to taking care of them in the night.

Thus, even when structural changes which directly affect socialization for sex roles are introduced, immediate modifications in outcomes do not occur and the extent of sex role stereotyping is not reduced. When the Swedish children who are 5-10 years old now have children themselves and more structural changes in this area have come about, the sex role socialization patterns may be more profoundly affected and the socialization outcome more markedly different.

Crises

In examining societies which have undergone crises, such as wars, Lipman-Blumen's research has already established that a de-differentiation process that provides women with a greater range of occupational and political options usually takes place. This higher degree of women's participation in employment, in a range of occupations, and politics during wars, tends to diminish after the crisis is over, but the leveling-off point is usually higher than it was before the onset of the crisis (Lipman-Blumen, 1973). The available data from Greece agree with Lipman-Blumen's data from the United States and England.

Before 1939, Greece was a traditional, rural, society that resembled the Middle Eastern and North African societies in social structure as well as prevailing values and attitudes, especially in the dominant cultural value of honor. The status of women was quite low: illiteracy rates for women were high, paid employment was rare, birth rates high, and women had no political rights. Furthermore, the honor code was so restrictive that women were altogether deprived of freedom, including that of physical mobility, unless in the company of older women, husband, father, or brother. From 1939 through 1949 an uninterrupted chain of crises took place in Greece: the Italian War, the Italian and then the German occupation and underground guerrilla warfare, and the communist uprising immediately after the end of the Second World War and the ensuing civil war up to 1949. Throughout this decade, women increasingly played an active role in fighting, particularly in underground guerrilla warfare, in the civil war, and in secret organizations. These women and others not directly involved were increasingly allowed to enter masculine fields, to take positions never before open to women, and to enjoy more freedom, including more sexual freedom. Probably due to the extended

duration of the accumulated crises, the de-differentiation process involved permanent structural changes that persisted and evolved after the end of the crises. Thus, beginning with 1949 when national statistics became again available, birth rates had drastically declined and continued to decline slowly, but steadily, throughout the 50's and 60's (Mouvement Naturel de la Population de la Grèce, 1971). The rate of illiteracy diminished drastically; women increasingly entered masculine occupations; abortion, although illegal, was practiced widely, safely, and at a low cost by all reputable physicians; and the practice of "surgical virginity" indicated that premarital sex had spread to rural and traditional urban girls who were still concerned about maintaining the facade of virginity (Safilios-Rothschild, 1969a).

It is difficult to assess the extent to which and the linkages by which these changes affected the sex role socialization patterns. One clearcut direct linkage can be found in the decreased birth rates resulting in a considerable number of one-girl or two-girl families. These are especially prevalent in the middle and upper middle classes in Athens and other urban areas in which the average number of children is 1.2 (Safilios-Rothschild, 1969a). In such families, the girls are socialized to high achievement through their parents' high educational and occupational expectations as well as through continuous encouragement and support. These girls are expected to carry the family name--which they literally do by means of hyphenated names after marriage--and are socialized without much regard to sex role stereotypes, at least in the area of achievement (Safilios-Rothschild, 1972).

On the other hand, certain socialization experiences, not attributable to the decade of crises, are of crucial importance for understanding the

development in Greek girls of high self-esteem and achievement. Furthermore, Greek girls are permitted to achieve without being concerned as to how their achievement affects their popularity with boys. The play patterns of urban middle-and upper middle-class girls between the ages of 8-13 or 14 reveal the existence of same-sex, well organized groups which meet regularly in a park or a street to play a variety of competitive games with another similar group of girls. Winning in these games carries individual and collective prestige and may lead to a leadership position within the group; hence, competition is usually fierce. The important features of these play groups are that: (a) girls are competitive, aggressive, and fight for prestige and leadership; (b) during these years girls are totally uninterested in boys, whom they find boring and a nuisance, and thus resemble the adolescent American boys vis-à-vis girls; and (c) the girls have high esteem for the winners and the leaders; this esteem from others most probably facilitates in turn the development of high self-esteem, especially when one is successful and well-liked in the all-girl group.

This period is followed by a stage during which girls become slowly interested in boys, not as romantic partners but as companions with whom to go out socially. These social outings do not, however, take the form of dyadic dating. Instead, a parea is formed, which is a group of boys and girls who do things together like going to parties, to the movies, to the theater, and so on. Pairing between individual boys and girls is strictly tabooed. If it would occur, the couple would be teased and laughed at and forced to withdraw from the parea. This type of group friendship persists

through high school and goes on throughout college, although the composition of a parea may change, or the individual may shift from one parea to another. The existence of a parea in these girls' lives from the time they are 15-16 years old is of great significance, since it provides them with a variety of friendly and congenial boys to dance with, to talk with, to try out thoughts on, to go out with--of course, always in a group with other girls. The boys in the parea provide them with acceptance and security that prevents them from competing with other girls for the attention of, and acceptance by, a boy; instead they share with other girls a number of boys. Thus, they do not have to mold their personalities to please and flatter the boys; on the contrary, boys and girls have a chance within the context of the parea to get to know each other and accept each other as they are. Occasionally a boy and girl who belonged to the same parea for many years start dating each other in their early 20's, but always outside the context of the parea. It can be hypothesized that the Greek institution of parea allows a girl to achieve highly in school without becoming anxious that she may be less popular among boys because of her scholastic success.² Fun, association with interesting boys, and social life are guaranteed through the parea regardless of the girl's intelligence or scholastic success. As a matter of fact, intelligent girls usually have a higher status in a parea than less intelligent ones. Thus, girls are encouraged to develop their intelligence and knowledge in order to be admired instead of "playing dumb" in exchange for popularity.

It is interesting to note that an Indian study of the friendship patterns and the social club participation of adolescent boys and girls in

Calcutta shows that all boys in general and upper-middle-class girls belong more often to social clubs rather than engaging in dyadic friendships (Beech, Note 1). Social clubs in India serve about the same social functions that the structured games and parea described above serve for Greek boys and girls. That is, the Indian boys and upper-middle-class girls who joined the social clubs and interacted within this context with their peers were socialized into competitive and coordinated group action as well as into leadership. It is not surprising that the proportion of girls who enter occupations, particularly those requiring universalistic and achievement-oriented dispositions, appears to be related directly to participation in peer groups rather than to participation in dyadic friendships (Beech, Note 1).

The Greek and the Indian cases suggest that the type of play activities in which children engage as well as the type of social contacts between boys and girls available outside dating have significant implications for girls' ability to achieve as well as for the range of marital, educational, and occupational choices open to them. More cross-cultural research in this area would help clarify the nature of existing relationships.

Rigid Social Stratification

Let us consider those societies in which no ideological, political, or structural factors have stimulated changes in the status of women and which are characterized by a more or less rigid social stratification system. Most Arab societies fall in this category, with the possible partial exception of Tunisia, where some changes were introduced by the Government during the last decade. In these societies, women's social

inferiority is considered "natural" and inescapable; a rigid sex stratification system is based upon religious and moral ideologies as well as "natural laws." In this societal context, sex role socialization practices and processes openly and clearly aim to instill in boys that they are the dominant, important people and to teach girls subjugation to men. There are no ambiguities about who occupies what position in the sex stratification system and the message passed on to girls is also clear: there is no way to escape or to rebel against the system. Girls are effectively socialized into the inferior role by observing their mothers cry and their fathers become angry at their mothers for having given birth to a girl instead of a boy; by being bossed by their brothers (regardless of their age) and even beaten by them without their parents interfering; and by being unequally treated with regard to food, since the best is given to boys and, when there is not enough food, girls are the ones who are left hungry. They cannot but note that all women around them have to obey men, are afraid of men, and are often mistreated by men. In addition, girls are clearly and openly told that they are not important since they are only girls and that for that reason they cannot do many things.

Because the sex role socialization practices and processes are so clear and powerful, most girls accept their inferior position and do not challenge men's domination. Therefore, while there is blatant institutional sex discrimination, we can hypothesize that the great variety of indirect, informal, and disguised sex discrimination practices present in the United States and Scandinavian societies do not exist because in fact there is no

need for them. In the absence of informal sex discrimination, it may be hypothesized that girls who manage to escape the oppressive sex role socialization can achieve highly with few obstacles in their way, especially since institutional barriers in developing societies can be lifted on the basis of particularistic criteria. There is evidence that upper and upper-middle-class girls escape oppressive sex role socialization because their high social status makes them valuable people and the same holds true for exceptionally intelligent or otherwise gifted girls from other social classes. Research, however, is needed to indicate by what mechanisms and dynamics these girls escape the oppressive sex role socialization and what aspects of this socialization they may not be able to escape.

It is evident that there is a great research gap in the area of cross-cultural studies of sex role socialization. Hopefully, the following hypotheses around which some evidence was presented in this paper will stimulate extensive research in different types of societies:

1. Egalitarian ideologies superimposed by the state may increase the range of women's educational and occupational options but can have little effect on sex role socialization and the degree of sex stereotyping. Sex role socialization processes and the definition of men's and women's roles are hypothesized to be more affected by sex role ideologies expressed as social movements, although tangible changes may require two or three generations.

2. In societies in which there are formalized institutionalized patterns of sex role socialization and sex discrimination, there is no need for informal, indirect, and disguised sex discrimination. Consequently, those girls who manage to escape the sex role constraints transmitted through socialization, can achieve highly and occupy important positions by being treated as exceptional cases.

3. Same-sex play groups that provide girls with competitive experiences as well as acceptance and prestige for winning and/or mixed-sex friendship groups (in adolescence and early adulthood) that replace dating, singly or in combination, are hypothesized to enable girls to develop intellectually and to achieve highly without fear of loss of femininity and popularity. Thus, same-sex play groups, mixed-sex friendship groups, and possibly a sex-segregated high school education of high caliber, may represent a unique set of "liberating" socialization experiences that neutralize other sex discriminatory experiences and enable girls to make educational and occupational choices without the constraints of "feminine" stereotypes.

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Footnotes

¹Finland is an outstanding exception to this generalization (Safilios-Rothschild, 1971).

²The public (but not all private) high schools in Greece are sex-segregated and, therefore, one could associate the absence of boys from all-girls' schools with their freedom to compete and achieve highly. While the sex-segregation of schools may be an important factor only specific research studies could assess the relative importance of the all-girls' schools or parea for girls' freedom to compete and achieve highly in school. Girls in mixed-sex private high schools would provide a useful control in studying middle-, upper-middle-, and upper-class girls.

Sex and Discipline Differences in Professional Socialization

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"Socialization in social psychology denotes the process by which an individual learns to adjust to the group by acquiring social behavior of which the group approves." (Gould & Kolb, 1964). This fundamental process takes place in all social systems in which new people are brought into the group. Professional socialization in this paper refers to the process by which neophytes are initiated into the norms and values governing professional and academic disciplines in graduate school by professional gate-keepers. One measure of the effectiveness of the socialization process is the percentage of people who drop out of the system.

The first part of this paper shows very large differences in the effectiveness of professional socialization by sex, and across professional and academic disciplines. The second part explores some of the sources of ineffective socialization for neophytes and gate-keepers who determine whether they gain access. The third part offers some techniques for helping both neophytes and gate-keepers discover more effective ways to achieve professional socialization.

Differences in Effectiveness of Professional Socialization

In interpreting this section, the reader should keep in mind the following questions:

1. What happens differently to women, to minority students, and to white men that might account for the very large sex and ethnic differences in educational achievement?

2. How much of what happens is sociological, in terms of expectations about human beings and what they might become, based on traditional sex roles and ethnic roles?
3. How much of what happens is psychological, in terms of ambitious, aspirations, and motivations of students, which, in turn are shaped by the expectations of other people.

This section will trace through a number of critical filtering points which cut down on the access of women and minorities before they ever reach the availability pools for professional socialization. The first critical filter is freedom of choice in the high school curriculum.

Educators in the United States point with pride to the openness of our public education system, which attempt to provide equality of access to all persons, independently of sex, ethnicity, or social class. They sometimes point with accusation at education systems in other countries for excluding people from access on the basis of social class. However, in the United States, there is a hidden filter which operates to exclude people on the basis of sex, ethnicity, and social class. Those who choose not to take advanced mathematics in high school are effectively filtered out of free choice of undergraduate major at most colleges and universities.

The minimal high school mathematics requirement for admission at the standard freshman calculus sequence is two years of algebra, a year of geometry, and half a year of trigonometry. Until very recently there has been no way for an entering freshman to remedy deficiencies in high school preparation for the standard calculus sequence. This calculus sequence is required for undergraduate curricula in the agricultural sciences, chemistry, engineering, environmental design, forestry and conservation, optometry, most of the biological sciences, and economics. It is not required in criminology,

education, journalism, law, librarianship, social welfare, and the social sciences and humanities. It is increasingly required for sophisticated graduate work in political science, psychology, and sociology. The only traditionally high prestige, high paying and white male dominated field that does not have the high school mathematics filter built into the formal requirements for admission is law. However, high scores on mathematics tests are indicative of the kind of analytically oriented mind that will succeed in law school.

In a systematic random sample of applicants for fall 1972 admission at the University of California at Berkeley, 57% of the men had taken two years of algebra, a year of geometry, and half a year of trigonometry, compared with 8% of the women. This forty-nine percentage point difference is a powerful measure of sex-role stereotypes which constrain the aspirations and motivations of students deciding which courses to take in high school, even as they constrain the kinds of advice counselors give students.

Among a class of upper-division social science students at Berkeley, there was a large and statistically significant relationship between having social support from teachers, parents or peers, and going on for the advanced algebra and trigonometry. The effect of the mathematics filter on minorities can be inferred from the percentage of letters and science students majoring in the mathematics based fields. These data, from the Berkeley Student Resource Survey, spring, 1972 include upper division transfers, as well as graduate students. Among the Asians, 58% were majoring in the mathematics based fields, compared with 30% of the Blacks, Chicanos, and native Americans. The ethnic difference in choice of major, twenty-eight percentage points, is larger than the sex difference. Among the men, 44% majored in the mathematics field, compared with 21% of the

women, giving a sex difference of twenty-three percentage points. When sex and ethnicity are controlled simultaneously, the differences get even larger. While 68% of the Asian men majored in the mathematics based letters and science fields, only 17% of the non-Asian women did so -- a difference of fifty-one percentage points. The proportion of Asian women in these fields is slightly higher (45%) than that of non-minority men (41%).

There is a statistically significant drop in the proportion of women earning bachelor's degrees in the physical sciences at Berkeley (26%), and the proportion of women applying to graduate school in the physical sciences (11%). At the same time, women seem to be admitted to graduate departments in the same proportion in which they are applying, and receiving financial support in the same proportion in which they are applying.

The first part of section one has shown filters in the effectiveness of pre-professional socialization. The following part shows what happens to people who survive the pre-professional filters.

Table 1 was calculated from a classic study of doctoral attrition of post-master's students in the traditional arts and sciences who were in graduate school between 1950 through 1953. It shows large and statistically significant sex and discipline differences in percentage of dropouts by both sex and discipline. Women in the fifties were more likely to drop out than men by twenty percentage points. Students in the humanities were more likely to drop out than students in the physical sciences by twenty percentage points. These differences hold up when sex and discipline are controlled simultaneously.

Table 1 about here

It is not clear from the statistical evidence whether women dropped out of doctoral programs because they had other rewarding alternatives open to them, or whether they were driven out by a less than welcoming social climate in graduate school in the early fifties.

A secondary analysis of data on Woodrow Wilson Fellows who entered graduate school in the early sixties shows a similar pattern of sex and discipline differences in effective professional socialization. The sex difference almost disappears among those who had second year financial support, gets much larger among those who have children, and gets larger yet among those rated "excellent" by their graduate faculty in the physical sciences. Effective professional socialization will make it possible for the achievements of students rated "excellent" to surpass those of students rated "average to fair," independently of sex, ethnicity, or discipline. In this sample of highly talented graduate students, there was no statistically significant difference in the professional socialization of women rated "excellent" and men rated "average to fair." Table 2 shows the percentage of Woodrow Wilson Fellows of the early sixties who dropped out of doctoral programs by sex and the rating of their graduate performance by their faculty.

I take as given that the discrepancy between achievements of persons rated equally are themselves unequal are a measure of ineffectiveness of professional socialization. The critical question is whether the problem lies in characteristics of the neophytes, characteristics of the gatekeepers, or in characteristics of the social system in which they are embedded. The fact that students with conflicting ratings by faculty fall between students

Table 2 about here

rated excellent and those rated very good, and students with erratic performance ratings fall between average to fair and poor to dreadful tends to suggest the problem lies in characteristics of neophytes rather than gate-keepers or the system. The policy implication for neophytes is that consistent performance has higher payoff than erratic brilliance.

There has been a dramatic reduction in the fourth year doctoral dropouts among women at Berkeley. Among the entering class of 1962, 22% of the men had dropped out of doctoral programs by the fourth year, compared with 42% of the women. Among the entering class of 1968, 27% of the men had dropped out by the fourth year, compared with 27% of the women. The policy implication for gatekeepers is that they need not impose expectations and evaluations of women in the 1970's on the basis of their experiences and observations of graduate women in the early fifties and early sixties. The importance of social solidarity among neophytes and changing expectations of gate-keepers is crucial in improving the effectiveness of professional socialization.

In a national sample of graduate students and faculty sponsored by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education it is clear that gatekeepers and neophytes have very different perceptions of whether women graduate students are as dedicated as the males. Table 3 reports the responses by faculty and female students on two parallel questions. The faculty item is "The women graduate students in this department are not as dedicated as the males." The student item is "The professors in my department don't take female graduate students seriously."

The percentage difference in agreement to the two items by gatekeeper or neophyte status and academic discipline offers support for Leo Lowenthal's hypothesis that "faculty fantasies about graduate students are surpassed only by graduate student fantasies about faculty." This is a special case of the

broader hypothesis, that "in every social system, gate-keeper fantasies about neophytes are surpassed only by neophyte fantasies about gate-keepers." The solution for more effective professional socialization consists of bringing the fantasies of gate-keepers and neophytes closer to reality. This will be discussed more fully in a later section of the paper.

The fundamental pathology I've observed in a variety of social systems consists of people at every level absolving themselves of fault or blame by placing it on people above and below them, instead of taking responsibility for solving problems. Table 3 is a good example of people of different status absolving themselves by placing blame elsewhere.

Table 3 about here

Table 4 shows the responses of faculty, male graduate and female graduates to the same two items. Again, the pattern of sex and discipline differences in responses appears. Only in the physical sciences are the sex differences in student agreement that "The professors in my department don't really take female graduate students seriously" not statistically significant. The direction of agreement varies by status. Among the faculty, 18% of those in the humanities agree that "The female graduate students in my department are not as dedicated as the males," compared with 35% of those in the biological sciences. Those in the biological sciences are more likely to agree by 17 percentage points than those in the humanities. Among the female graduates, 40% of those in the humanities agree that "The professors in my department don't really take female graduate students seriously," compared with 30 % of those in the biological sciences. Those in the biological sciences are less likely to agree by ten percentage points.

Table 4 about here

Again it's not clear from the data whether agreement to these items comes from characteristics of neophytes, gate-keepers, or the social system in which they are imbedded. To what extent are faculty perceptions of women graduate students as less dedicated, and student perceptions that faculty are not taking them seriously a chicken and egg phenomenon? More importantly, what is the most constructive way to intervene, to help free neophytes and gate-keepers from the constraints of traditional sex and status role expectations?

Another clue to sex and discipline differences in professional socialization can be found in Table 5: It shows very large sex and discipline differences in percentage of doctoral students who report that their primary faculty contact regards them as a colleague or apprentice, rather than as a student. Again, the causal direction is not clear. Are women being excluded from collegial or apprentice relations, or are they excluding themselves by constraints imposed by preprofessional socialization?

Table 5 about here

Table 6 shows the percentage of faculty who reported having a member of their own faculty who acted as 'sponsor' for the first job, by sex and discipline. Again, the pattern of sex and discipline differences in sponsorship suggests both sex and discipline differences in the process of professional socialization. There are too few women in the faculty sample to examine sex differences in

Table 6 about here

sponsorship within professional and academic disciplines. Table 7 shows the percentage of total faculty within professional and academic disciplines who reported having a faculty sponsor. The pattern of faculty sponsorship is

Table 7 about here

clearly more prevalent in the academic disciplines than in the professional fields. English is the only academic discipline which has lower rates of sponsorship than the two professional fields with the highest rate of sponsorship, business administration and education.

This variation in patterns of sponsorship seems more likely to be related to characteristics of the discipline as a social system than to the characteristics of neophytes or gate-keepers.

While 56% of the male faculty in the humanities reported having a faculty 'sponsor' when looking for the first job, only 41% of the female faculty members did so. The field difference is almost twice as large for women as for men.

There is a difference of 21 percentage points in patterns of sponsorship between architecture and education in the professional fields, and a difference of 31 percentage points between English and sociology in the academic fields.

This section of the paper has covered filtering points in preprofessional socialization, shown sex and discipline variation in the effectiveness of professional socialization, and shown sex and discipline variation in patterns of apprenticeship and sponsorship. From the data available, I've been unable to verify whether the differences are due to characteristics of neophytes, gate-keepers, or the social systems in which they are embedded.

The next section explores some of the sources of ineffective professional socialization as it relates to characteristics of neophytes, gate-keepers, and the social systems in which they are embedded.

Sources of Ineffectiveness of Professional Socialization

Some of the processes which operate to drive women out of doctoral programs also work against men. Solutions derived from working with women students might also be used to reduce attrition among talented men. This section of the paper describes some of the processes identified in the Graduate Women's Project, sponsored by the Affirmative Action Planning Office, and the Women's Center at Berkeley, in Spring, 1973.

This pilot project grew out of concern with understanding the very large sex and discipline differences in doctoral attrition described earlier. We were particularly concerned with isolating those factors which might be different for women graduate students in the 1970's, so that expectations based on the behavior of graduate women in the 1950's and 1960's would no longer be imposed on contemporary women.

The pilot project consisted of an eight week series of two hour sessions in which groups of women from a variety of disciplines attempted to define and articulate problems faced by women in graduate school, and to generate alternative solutions to those problems.

Announcements of the project were mailed to all women in chemistry, English, mathematics, psychology, sociology, and zoology; and to all graduate secretaries for posting. In addition, an article describing the project was published in the Daily Californian.

The initial organizational meeting was attended by 24 women. Fields represented included chemistry, English, mathematics, zoology, Asian studies, city planning, education, geology, political science, sociology, agricultural economics, social welfare, nursing, and near eastern studies. At this meeting

we explained the purpose of the project, and described the nature of our supervision by a clinical psychologist experienced in group processes.

To keep the size of meetings manageable the women were divided into two groups; each met with the cofacilitators in separate two-hour sessions once a week for eight weeks. In order to avoid imposing our own preconceptions upon the participants, the meetings were deliberately unstructured. A number of recurring themes emerged from the discussions. These themes were echoed and amplified independently in a questionnaire survey of nonparticipants from the original mailing. It should be emphasized that some of the problems mentioned by women in the pilot project also trouble men, and that solutions for women might be carried over to solutions for men.

The major themes emerging from the group explorations and the questionnaire survey can be grouped into three categories:

1. Factors beyond the control of students or faculty.
2. Factors within the control of faculty.
3. Factors potentially within the control of students.

Each group of themes will be discussed below, with greatest emphasis on those factors potentially within the control of students themselves.

Factors beyond the control of students or faculty

- * Decline in federal and private sources of graduate student financial support, which makes students increasingly dependent on departmental good will for support.
- * Rising tuition costs, and costs of living in general.
- * Declining job market for Ph.D.'s, combined with the proliferation of doctoral production from lower quality institutions

Factors within the control of faculty

- * Lack of women as role-models on the faculty, which affects the socialization process of the woman graduate student.
- * Poor formal advising procedures, which are the source of much unnecessary confusion and bitterness.
- * Exclusion of women from the informal communications network by both faculty and graduate students, which contributes to an increasing sense of invisibility as time passes.
- * Exclusion of women from the traditional apprentice relationships with faculty.
- * Indifference of professors. Many women feel that the remoteness and unapproachability of professors makes it difficult to seek advice and help.
- * Mystery, characterized by the lack of easy availability of information. Many women cited the absence of well-defined, public criteria for evaluation, requirements, or procedures.
- * Secrecy. Many complained about the absence of information about attrition, flunking, and success rates within the department; about the length of time it takes to get the degree; about the employment situation once they earn the degree. There were also complaints about the absence of due process for students who felt they were wrongfully being dropped from doctoral programs.

Factors potentially within the control of students

These factors were repeatedly recurring themes in the group discussions and the nonparticipant questionnaire. Each woman in the group had initially perceived them as unique, personal problems. The major insight arising from the group process was the recognition by the women involved that their feelings were in fact not individual, and even more importantly, that they were not limited to students in their own departments. Recognition of these feelings as pervasive characteristics of graduate student life seems to have made it possible to deal with them more effectively.

Problem areas were raised at two different levels, psychological and sociological.

The Psychological Level

Students mentioned the following kinds of feelings which interfere with performance and inhibit the kind of sustained effort needed for intellectual achievement, and which seem to become more intense as length of time in graduate school increases:

1. Lowering of self-confidence.
2. Lowering of self-esteem
3. Ambivalence about professional and career norms which seem to exclude the legitimacy of personal life.
4. Ambivalence about professional norms which put research ahead of teaching.
5. Ambivalence about success and failure, arising from fears of professional success as inherently defeminizing.
6. At least three different forms of alienation:
 - a. Alienation arising from ambiguity about the norms governing academic and professional success. This ambiguity could be resolved

by explicit clarification of what it takes to succeed in a field, so that students could decide early in their graduate careers whether or not they want to play the game.

b. Alienation arising from the student's sense of powerlessness.

To the extent that she perceives her academic life outside of her own control, she will be hindered in degree progress. This sense of powerlessness could be resolved in providing greater opportunity for student participation in the decision making processes which affect doctoral progress.

c. Alienation arising from a sense of the meaninglessness of hurdles to be passed. This could be resolved by clarifying the relationship between curriculum hurdles and their contribution to professional growth and development.

The Sociological Level

Graduate students frequently complain about the infantilization imposed on them by graduate school. The women in the pilot project also mentioned this. A faculty advisor told one of our women scientists that "The trouble with students is they want to take too much charge of their own lives." Of course it is not always clear which way the causal arrow operates. Do faculty behave in a paternalistic manner because students behave in a dependent, childlike manner? Or do students behave in a dependent, childlike manner because faculty expectations elicit and reward such behavior? Is the question of paternalism versus autonomy related to the sex of the student, or does it affect the progress of male students as well?

Women enter graduate school with stronger records than men. They have to be better to survive the initial screening process. All of the women in

the exploratory group, and most of the women in the questionnaire survey reported a sense of progressive demoralization, of skidding downhill in their sense of competence, self-esteem, and self-confidence. They see the male graduate students with whom they entered accepted as apprentices and junior colleagues, but feel shut out from such relationships themselves.

Students in the pilot project at Berkeley reported an increasing sense of not being taken seriously, by faculty, or by their fellow students. This sense of not being taken seriously contributes to their sense of demoralization, and of futility in pursuit of the doctorate.

Again, it is not clear whether students pick up and reflect faculty expectations with respect to their seriousness, or whether students behave in a manner which elicits expectations of lack of seriousness.

Students in a number of departments at Berkeley mentioned a lack of community within their departments, and a sense of isolation from both faculty and other students. This is particularly a problem for students in the humanities, where research is a much more individual enterprise than in the physical sciences.

The Berkeley pilot project and the national survey data indicate some problems with graduate student morale. However, informal discussions with faculty in a variety of fields suggest a radically different perception of student morale. There appears to be a denial of the existence of the problem, a position which can best be described by the mythology that "our darkies are happy here on the plantation."

The sharp contrast between student and faculty perceptions of student morale suggests the need for an active program to change the situation. Impressionistic evidence suggests also that faculty morale with respect to

students is low, and that an effective attrition reduction program must be geared to improving both faculty and student morale. This can be justified both in the name of salvaging human resources, and in the name of saving the taxpayer's money, as well as in the name of opening up opportunities for women and minorities for access to the availability pools for faculty recruitment, hiring, promotion, and tenure.

This section has reviewed some of the processes emerging from a pilot study of sources of ineffectiveness of professional socialization. The next section offers some techniques for both neophytes and gate-keepers to improve the effectiveness of professional socialization.

Improving the effectiveness of professional socialization

One of the themes emerging from the pilot project and the national survey data was the sense of exclusion from the informal colleague or apprenticeship relationship with faculty.

Graduate student organizations can provide an ideal mechanism for students to develop the interpersonal and professional skills which contribute to their sense of collegueship and apprenticeship. The paradox is that many students are so involved in their individual progress or paralysis that they fail to see the possibility of organizational solutions. This is particularly true for students who see problems in graduate school as evidence of personal failure and ineptitude, rather than evidence of problems shared by most students. Until quite recently, women have tended to internalize blame for these problems, while men have tended to project it on faculty, and on the system.

The problem is to help students recognize that it is to their advantage to become involved in departmental student organizations, in order to take responsibility for their own professional growth and development. There

appears to be considerable student resistance to the idea of "professional socialization," in which students are rewarded for becoming more and more like the faculty, and penalized for serious deviation from the faculty model of "appropriate" professional academic behavior. This resistance comes from men as well as women, and needs to be explored. Part of it may stem from rejection of the passivity and denial of autonomy implied in the process of being socialized by authority figures who are solely responsible for determining standards of evaluation. Part of it may stem from rejection of those standards of evaluation. Part may stem from a disinclination to accept the given models of appropriate professional attitudes and behavior.

Students should be encouraged to organize on their own behalf to improve communications among each other, and with faculty; to find out, and make explicit the standards of evaluation governing performance and professional behavior; to explore and make explicit alternatives to accepted models of appropriate professional attitudes and behavior; to find out, and make explicit the opportunities and limitations for employment imposed by the rapidly changing supply and demand for doctorates in each field.

Some might argue that such activities are the primary responsibility of the faculty. However, for faculty to continue to spoon-feed students with the rules for success becomes the worst form of paternalism and denial of student autonomy. The paradox is that students have to act like colleagues and apprentices in order to be so treated, and they have to feel like colleagues and apprentices in order to act accordingly.

Summary

This paper has shown large sex and discipline differences in the effectiveness of professional socialization, explored some of the sources of

ineffective socialization for neophytes and gate-keepers, and offered some techniques for helping neophytes and gate-keepers discover more effective ways to achieve professional socialization.

In conclusion, I would like to suggest that one of the major problems for neophytes and gate-keepers has to do with the degree of fit between the norms and values of neophytes and of gate-keepers. Not all graduate students want to earn the Nobel prize in their field. Some have more modest aspirations for teaching and doing research for the joy of doing it. Many men, as well as women, want to devote some of their time, energy, and commitment to family and personal life. The extent that faculty who have made it in a highly competitive system by their own intense commitment to their field impose expectations of the same kind of commitment on students, those with more modest aspirations will be evaluated differently than those who already want to become like highly successful faculty.

My hope is that we might revise professional socialization to take into account the differing career goals, changing job markets, needs and expectations of students, without forcing them into the procrustean bed of faculty defined standards of what flourishing in graduate school means.

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Table 1

Percentage of Dropouts Among 1950-1953 Post-Master's Students in
Traditional Arts and Sciences, as of December 1962,
By Sex and Field

	Humanities	Social Sciences	Biological Sciences	Physical Sciences	Percentage Difference	Total
Men	46% (4475)	39% (6753)	26% (3113)	29% (6321)	<u>17*</u>	35% (20662)
Women	66% (1162)	51% (1150)	42% (490)	45% (345)	<u>21*</u>	55% (3147)
Percentage Difference For Sexes	<u>20*</u>	<u>12*</u>	<u>16*</u>	<u>17*</u>		<u>20*</u>
Total	50% (5637)	41% (7903)	28% (3603)	30% (6666)	<u>20*</u>	38% (23809)

Source: Calculated from tables from Tucker, Gottlieb, and Pease. Attrition of Graduate Students at the Ph.D. Level in the Traditional Arts and Sciences, Michigan State University, Office of Research and Development and the Graduate School, Publication Number 8, 1964.

* Sex and discipline differences are statistically significant at the .05 level, using a conservative estimate of a two-tailed test.

Table 2

Woodrow Wilson Fellows: Percentage Dropouts
By Sex and Graduate Rating By Faculty

Graduate Rating	Men	Women	Sex Effect
Excellent	33% (821)	58% (267)	<u>25*</u>
Conflicting Ratings By Faculty	42% (77)	64% (25)	<u>22*</u>
Very Good	44% (654)	67% (270)	<u>23*</u>
Average to Fair	56% (303)	78% (134)	<u>22*</u>
Erratic Performance By Student	60% (65)	86% (21)	<u>26*</u>
Poor to Dreadful	82% (131)	90% (40)	8 ns
Total Rated Students	44% (2051)	68% (757)	<u>24*</u>
<u>Rating Effect</u>	<u>49*</u>	<u>32*</u>	

Source: The original Mooney data were obtained for secondary analysis by permission of Mrs. Janet Mitchell, Director of the Woodrow Wilson Dissertation Fellowship Program.

* Sex and rating differences are statistically significant at the .05 level, using a conservative estimate of a two tailed test. The number in parentheses is the base to which percentages are calculated. Among the 821 men rated "excellent," 33% dropped out, compared with 58% among the 267 women rated "excellent."

Table 3

Faculty and Student Perspectives on Each Other: Percentage Placing Blame on the Other

Faculty: % Agree that "Women graduate students in this department are not as dedicated as the males."

Female graduate students: % Agree that "The professors in my department don't take female graduate students seriously."

<u>Discipline</u>	<u>Faculty</u>	<u>Female Students</u>	<u>Percentage Difference</u>
History	19% (395)	48% (91)	<u>27*</u>
English	22% (495)	42% (149)	<u>20*</u>
Clinical Psychology	22% (114)	28% (18)	6 ns
Political Science	23% (307)	55% (67)	<u>33*</u>
Sociology	23% (212)	40% (45)	<u>17*</u>
Biological and Physical Sciences	35% (2403)	30% (252)	-5 ns
Experimental Psych.	49%	42%	-7 ns

Source: Secondary analysis of data gathered by the National Survey of Higher Education, sponsored by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education.

* Statistically significant at the .05 level, using a conservative estimate of a two-tailed test.

All tables based on the Carnegie data are using a sub-sample of the institutions designated as "High Quality Universities" in the public version of the codebook. Medium and Low Quality Universities were excluded, as were Colleges and Community Colleges.

Table 4

Faculty and Graduate Student Perceptions of Faculty Attitudes
Toward Women Graduate Students, By Sex and Field.

Faculty: % Agreeing that "The Female Graduate Students in My
Department are Not as Dedicated as the Males."

Graduate Students: % Agreeing that "The Professors in My
Department Don't Really Take Female Graduate
Students Seriously."

	<u>Faculty</u>	<u>Male Graduates</u>	<u>Female Graduates</u>	<u>Sex Difference</u>
Humanities	18% (1861)	27% (838)	40% (529)	<u>e = 13*</u>
Social Sciences	24% (1647)	29% (804)	39% (309)	<u>e = 10*</u>
Physical Sciences	34% (1215)	25% (762)	31% (101)	e = 6 n.s.
Biological Sciences	35% (1155)	20% (394)	30% (151)	<u>e = 10*</u>
Field Difference	<u>e = -17*</u>	<u>e = 7*</u>	<u>e = 10*</u>	
Total	27% (5878)	20% (2798)	30% (1090)	<u>e = 12*</u>

Source: Secondary analysis of data gathered by the National Survey of Higher Education, sponsored by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. Read 18% of the 1861 Faculty in the Humanities agree that "The female graduate students in my department are not as dedicated as the males." In contrast, 40% of the 529 female graduate students agree that "The professors in my department don't really take female graduate students seriously."

* Statistically significant at the .05 level, using a conservative estimate of a two-tailed test.

Table 5

Percentage of Doctoral Students Whose Primary
Faculty Contact Regards Them As A Colleague
Or Apprentice, By Sex And Discipline.

Discipline	Men	Women	Percentage Difference	Total
Psychology	72% (176)	53% (95)	19*	65% (271)
Anthropology	72% (51)	50% (50)	22*	61% (101)
Chemistry	58% (235)	54% (35)	4 ns	57% (270)
Physics	57% (265)	36% (14)	21 ns	56% (279)
Biological Sciences	56% (393)	45% (150)	11*	53% (543)
Sociology	61% (101)	38% (44)	23*	52% (145)
History	57% (252)	37% (90)	20*	52% (342)
English	52% (197)	33% (149)	19*	44% (346)
Mathematics	39% (268)	22% (50)	17*	36% (318)
Discipline Percentage Difference	33*	31*		29*

Source: Secondary Analysis of data gathered by the National Survey of Higher Education, sponsored by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education.

* Statistically significant at the .05 level, using a conservative estimate of a two-tailed test.

All of the tables based on the Carnegie data were based only on the institutions designated "High Quality University" in the codebook. They do not include medium or low quality universities, four year colleges, or junior colleges.

Table 6

Question: "As a graduate student, was there a faculty member who acted as your "sponsor" when you were looking for your first job?"

% of Faculty who reported having had a faculty sponsor, by sex and field

<u>Field</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Sex Difference</u>	<u>Total</u>
Humanities	56% (1719)	41% (235)	<u>15*</u>	54% (1954)
Physical Sciences	66% (1526)	45% (65)	<u>21*</u>	65% (1591)
Social Sciences	71% (1445)	68% (146)	3 ns	71% (1591)
Biological Sciences	64% (1069)	46% (110)	<u>18*</u>	62% (1179)
<u>Field Difference</u>				
Humanities-Social	<u>15*</u>	<u>27*</u>		<u>17*</u>
Total	64% (5759)	50% (556)	<u>14*</u>	63% (6315)

* Statistically significant at the .05 level, using a conservative estimate.

Table 7

Percentage of Faculty Who Reported Having a Faculty
Sponsor by Professional and Academic Field

Professional Field

Architecture	26% (174)	English	46% (538)
Library Science	26% (77)	Bacteriology	60% (234)
Social Welfare	29% (195)	Mathematics	62% (583)
Health Fields	36% (1937)	Chemistry	65% (343)
Fine Arts	37% (627)	Economics	68% (354)
Engineering	41% (1119)	Political Science	68% (317)
Law	43% (221)	Physics	69% (414)
Business Administration	53% (450)	Anthropology	70% (141)
Education	57% (473)	Psychology	71% (507)
		History	74% (419)
		Sociology	77% (234)

Source: Secondary analysis of data gathered by the National Survey of Higher Education, sponsored by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education.

Socialization of Sex Roles in the Counseling Setting

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In the last decade, a great hue and cry has been raised over the inadequacies of existing counseling and therapeutic methods in meeting the needs of contemporary women (Friedan, 1963; Greer, 1971; Chesler, 1972). Concomitantly, demands for new feminist therapies have flourished (Gardner, 1971; Rice & Rice, 1973). However, at the present time, much confusion exists as to the content and purpose of these new therapies. The present study attempts to identify deficiencies in the traditional counseling process when applied to typical and atypical women clients, as well as to suggest some criteria for modification and improvement.

Examination of both traditional psychological theory (Freud, in Roszak & Roszak, 1969) and contemporary clinical attitudes (Broverman et al., 1970; Fabrikant et al., 1974) suggests that psychology continues to view women negatively, as castrating, inferior, primitive, passive, dependent. This prevailing psychological view of women reflects the stereotyped sex role to which women have been consigned in society as a whole, in which they are seen first and foremost as wives and mothers. Sociologically, the dissatisfaction of feminists with psychotherapy may be attributed to the nature of therapy itself, whose true function may be less the fulfillment of individual needs and more a form of socialization aimed at adjusting individuals to conform to well-defined social roles (Berger & Luckman, 1966; Lockheed, 1975; Hurvitz, 1973). An instance of this hypothesis relevant to sex roles may be stated as follows: Women who do not exhibit sex-role conformity will be treated as deviant by therapists (especially male therapists, as participants

in the dominant status group that inflicted these norms), and will be encouraged to adopt more appropriate sex-role attitudes and behaviors, based on the therapists' own stereotyped views of the mentally healthy female. In this way, counseling may be regarded as an institution of sex-role socialization; that is, as a formal societal structure one of whose functions, either implicitly or explicitly, is to adjust and socialize women to appropriate, clearly defined roles within society.

Most studies relevant to this hypothesis now in the literature (cf. Thomas & Stewart, 1971) rely on paper-and-pencil assessment of counselor reaction to traditional and nontraditional female clients. In the present study, it was decided to retain this component and, in addition, to examine client perception of the counselors. Inspection of the literature also shows that counselor global attitudes toward sex roles have been widely used to document clinician bias against women (cf. Broverman et al., 1971). Therefore, in the present study, it was decided to assess counselor attitudes toward the healthy, well-adjusted male and female. However, in addition to paper-and-pencil responses, it seemed important to examine actual clinician behavior directly. Based on a now-classic study (Truax, 1966), it was assumed that the counseling process reflects principles of verbal conditioning (Greenspoon, 1962), and that, usually nonconsciously, counselors influence and modify client verbal behavior through a process of selective verbal and nonverbal reinforcement and extinction. Analysis of this shaping process seemed likely to provide important behavioral evidence of the occurrence of sex-role socialization in the counseling setting. Thus the present study sought to identify both behavioral and attitudinal evidence of sex-role socialization on the part of the counselor, as well as contribute information to the current controversy regarding the relative efficacy of same-sex counseling.

Along these lines of inquiry, several broad questions were raised:

1. Do clinicians in fact exhibit differential behavior and/or attitudes toward typical and atypical¹ female clients? In response to this question, a heuristic model was posited in which it was assumed that counselors value sex-role conformity. Therefore, behaviorally, counselors would attempt to shape clients, particularly atypical clients, toward such conformity. Thus, counselors would exhibit more behavioral bias toward the atypical than toward the typical client. Attitudinally, counselors would react more favorably to the typical clients (who conformed to their appropriate sex role) than to the atypical clients (who did not). Further, counselors who reacted more favorably toward a client would also be more responsive and understanding with that client, and consequently would receive more positive evaluation from the typical than from the atypical client.

2. What behavioral and/or attitudinal differences, if any, exist between male and female counselors? To aid in generating hypotheses, two alternative models were formulated. The first argued that female counselors, more than male counselors, had developed the necessary "raised consciousness" to avoid the sex-role socialization pitfalls of the counseling process (cf. Gardner, 1971). Thus, female counselors would value sex-role nonconformity more than would male counselors, and would be behaviorally less biased. In terms of their client perception, it was predicted that female counselors would like the atypical client more than would the male counselors, and the typical client less than would the male counselors. Reciprocally, atypical clients would evaluate female counselors more positively, and typical clients would evaluate female counselors less positively than they would their male counterparts.

The second model, based on literature documenting greater same-sex than opposite-sex empathy (Olesker & Balter, 1972; Meyer & Slobieszek, 1972), suggested that female counselors would be more reinforcing and supportive of other females than would male counselors, regardless of client role. Thus, behaviorally, female counselors would be more reinforcing and less extinguishing than male counselors with both typical and atypical clients. Attitudinally, female counselors would respond more positively than would male counselors to both types of clients, and this response would be reflected in the clients' higher evaluation of female than of male counselors.

3. What are current clinician views of the healthy, well-adjusted male and the healthy, well-adjusted female? Based on previous findings in the literature (Broverman, 1971; Bem, 1974), it was predicted that counselors would describe the healthy, well-adjusted female as characterized by predominantly feminine qualities, and the healthy, well-adjusted male as characterized by predominantly masculine qualities.

4. What is the relation between clinician sex-role attitudes, his/her paper-and-pencil perceptions of clients, and his/her specific situational behavior with a female client? In other words, to what extent are counselor statements about clients in particular or about sex roles in general a good predictor of counselor behavioral bias? The following predictions were based on the general model that counselors' attitudinal bias would be reflected in their actual counseling behavior. The more a counselor perceived the typical client to be adjusted, appropriate, and likable, the greater would be his/her behavioral bias rating. Similarly, the more a counselor evaluated the atypical client as deviant and unpleasant, the greater would be his/her behavioral bias

rating. Finally, counselors who perceived the well-adjusted female as characterized by conventional feminine qualities, and the well-adjusted male as characterized by conventional masculine qualities would be behaviorally more biased than those who saw both healthy males and females as characterized by equal mixtures of masculine and feminine qualities.

Until questions such as the above are answered, it is nearly impossible, despite cries for new "feminist therapies," to determine what the content and method of these new therapies should be. However, once information regarding the above hypotheses and models is obtained, it will be much more feasible to identify the actual behavioral deficits and excesses of clinicians which are responsible for socializing women in therapy toward acceptance of a limited and stereotyped role. With such explicit knowledge, it will become a realistic goal to develop treatment packages aimed at modifying inappropriate therapist behavior, and thus transform the counselor from a supporter of the status quo to an agent of social change (Bem & Bem, 1970).

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects consisted of eight male and eight female trainees in a master's level university counseling program. All eight of the female counselors and four of the male counselors listed their theoretical orientation as electric, while the remaining four male counselors described themselves as Rogerian. Seven of the males and six of the females had had some previous clinical experience, and all were currently enrolled in a clinical practicum.

Client-confederates and Role-play Situations

Client-confederates consisted of two female drama students, who were coached in the presentation of two role-playing situations, one of which

exemplified a typical (i.e., traditional feminine) condition, the other of which was characteristic of an atypical (i.e., deviating from the traditional feminine role in a masculine direction) condition. Operational definitions of "typical" and "atypical" included 1) client appearance; 2) client verbal behavior; the presentation of several cue sentences in each situation which successfully distinguished between typical and atypical feminine behavior; and 3) client occupational choice (nurse or engineer).

Procedures and Experimental Design

Counselors were informed that they were participating in an experiment involving examination of several interaction variables in the counselor-client relationship. They were told that the clients were volunteers, and that their presenting problems were authentic. Half the male counselors and half the female counselors interviewed client-confederate 1 in the typical condition and client-confederate 2 in the atypical condition, while the remaining half of the counselors interviewed client-confederate 1 in the atypical condition and client-confederate 2 in the typical condition. A videotape was made of each client-confederate interviewed in each role. Subsequently, videotapes were analyzed by independent raters, according to a coding instrument which consisted of 1) 12 verbal and nonverbal categories for classifying counselor responses to client cue sentences; 2) raters' subjective impressions and reactions to the tape. After each counseling interview, the counselor's general impressions of the client were obtained through a questionnaire, which rated on a 1-7 scale such items as client need for counseling, appropriateness of client goals, etc. Client-confederate perceptions of the counselors, such as how well they liked the counselor, how much they thought the counselor treated them as an individual, were similarly elicited. Finally, two to three

weeks after the counseling interview, counselors were asked to respond to a sex-role inventory (Bem, 1974), to determine their views of the healthy, well-adjusted male and the healthy well-adjusted female.

RESULTS

In analyzing the behavioral data, the 12 verbal and nonverbal categories of counselor behavior were grouped according to whether they reinforced or extinguished the client cue sentences. Then a behavioral bias measure was developed according to the following equation:

$$(V + NV)R+ C - (V + NV)R+ NC + (V + NV)E NC - (V + NV)E C$$

In this equation, R+ = reinforcement; E = extinction; V = verbal; NV = nonverbal; C = conforming cue; NC = nonconforming cue.² Thus, behavioral bias was operationally defined as the amount of reinforcement given to conforming cues and the amount of extinction given to nonconforming cues less the amount of reinforcement given to nonconforming cues and the amount of extinction given to conforming cues. Questionnaire data for counselors were collapsed into a single scale to provide a combined index assessing favorable (i.e., high adjustment rating, high appropriateness rating, etc.) unfavorable (i.e., low adjustment rating, low appropriateness rating, etc.) reaction to the client; while client and rater questionnaire data were collapsed to provide a similar index measuring favorable/unfavorable reaction to the counselor. T-tests were used to assess significant differences in the following variables; Counselor behavioral and attitudinal reaction to typical and atypical clients; behavioral and attitudinal differences in response patterns between male and female counselors; counselor evaluation of the healthy, well-adjusted male and the healthy well-adjusted female; and differences between the two client-confederates. Correlation coefficients were calculated to determine the

relationship between counselor behavioral bias and several variables measuring counselor attitudes toward the clients, toward sex roles in general, as well as client perception of counselors.

Quantifiable Data

The coding instrument. The coding instrument itself proved to be quite reliable. A mean rater agreement of 90.8% was obtained. A Person Product-Moment correlation coefficient was computed between raters for each tape, and the mean value of r for all tapes was .97. Finally, r values were obtained for each of the 12 categories, with a mean value of .79.

Behavioral data. As noted above, behavioral bias was measured by a combined index of counselor verbal and nonverbal responses to conforming and nonconforming client cue sentences. It was predicted that counselors would behave in a significantly more biased manner with the atypical than with the typical client. In fact, just the reverse pattern appeared to be true.

Insert Table 1 about here

Counselors were significantly more biased with the typical client than with the atypical client ($t = 2.35$; $p < .025$; $df = 12$). A more detailed analysis of the data provided evidence of a trend in support of this finding.

Insert Table 2 about here

In general, the atypical client seemed to receive more reinforcement and less extinction for nonconforming cues and more extinction (although not less verbal reinforcement) for conforming statements.

Two models were generated regarding possible differences between male and female counselors. One model hypothesized that female counselors, more than male counselors, had developed the necessary "raised consciousness" to avoid the sex-role socialization pitfalls of the counseling process (cf. Gardner, 1971). Thus, female counselors would value sex-role nonconformity more than would male counselors, and would be behaviorally less biased. Table 1 shows that, in fact, female counselors were less behaviorally biased than were male counselors, a finding which approached, but did not reach, significance ($t = 1.08$; $df = 12$). The other model predicted that female counselors would be more reinforcing and less punishing than male counselors, regardless of client role.

Insert Table 3 about here

When data were considered independent of client role or nature of cue sentence, it was found that, in support of this hypothesis, female counselors gave significantly more verbal reinforcement ($t = 3.20$; $p < .005$; $df = 30$), less verbal extinction (n.s.), and less nonverbal extinction ($t = 5.75$; $p < .0005$; $df = 30$) than did their male counterparts.

There was no significant difference in counselor behavioral bias when responding to the two client confederates.

Questionnaire data. When counselor questionnaire data were collapsed into a single scale, both male and female counselors reacted more favorably to the atypical than to the typical client, in direct contradiction of the stated hypothesis.

Insert Table 4 about here

In a more detailed, question-by-question analysis, this trend reached significance for counselor positive/negative reaction to the client ($t = 1.83$; $p < .05$; $df = 12$). As can be seen in Table 4, female counselors evaluated the atypical client more positively than did the male counselors, and the typical client less positively than did the male counselors.

When considering the atypical client interview condition, both clients and raters judged counselors more positively than when considering the typical client interview condition. Both raters and clients evaluated the female counselors more positively than the male counselors in interacting with both the atypical and the typical client roles.

Insert Table 5 about here

Although no significant behavioral differences existed between counselor interaction with the two client-confederates (see Table 1), examination of the questionnaire data indicates that the two clients were perceived somewhat differently by the counselors.

Insert Table 6 about here

In general, counselors reacted less favorably to client-confederate 2 than to client-confederate 1. A more detailed analysis revealed that this trend reached significance on two questions having to do with client adjustment ($t = 1.42$; $p < .10$; $df = 12$) and client need for counseling ($t = 2.32$; $p < .025$; $df = 12$). Interestingly enough, client-confederate 2 reacted consistently more favorably to the counselors than did client-confederate 1. Raters confirmed this

trend for female counselors, but male counselors were evaluated more positively by the raters when interacting with client-confederate 1.

Insert Table 7 about here

Differences between clinicians' views of the healthy, well-adjusted male and the healthy, well-adjusted female. Sex-role attitudes of the counselors were measured by the Bem Sex Role Inventory, a scale assessing the relative androgyny (i.e., the extent to which the individual endorses masculine and feminine items equally) of the respondent. In this study, counselors used the 60-item adjective checklist to rate the "healthy, well-adjusted male" and the "healthy, well-adjusted female" (cf. Broverman et al, 1971). In contradiction to the predicted hypothesis that females would be seen as characterized by traditionally feminine, expressive attributes, and males by traditionally male, instrumental attributes, analysis of the BSRI results indicated that the healthy, well-adjusted female was seen to be significantly more "masculine" (instrumental) than the healthy, well-adjusted male by both male and female counselors ($\bar{X}$ healthy female = $-.98$; $\bar{X}$ healthy male = 1.25 ; $t = 9.90$; $p < .0005$; $df = 14$), although both means fell within the androgynous range ($-1 < t < +1$; cf. Bem, 1974). A further finding was that female counselors rated both the healthy well-adjusted male and the healthy well-adjusted female as significantly more "masculine" (instrumental) than did male counselors ($\bar{X}$ female counselors = $-.82$; $\bar{X}$ male counselors = $-.41$; $p < .0005$; $t = 10.82$; $df = 14$).

Correlational results. In general, there was only a minimal relationship between counselor perception of the client, client perception of the counselor, and counselor behavioral bias. For both the typical and atypical clients,

correlations between counselor behavioral bias and the variables of counselor assessment of client need for counseling and appropriateness of client goals were extremely low and nonsignificant. There was almost no correlation between the counselors' evaluations of the healthy male and healthy female and their actual, in vivo counseling behavior ($r_{\text{female}} = .10$; $r_{\text{male}} = .13$)³. For the typical client, there was a significant, but negative, correlation between counselor reaction to client and the counselor bias score. There was also a negative, but nonsignificant, correlation between the two variables in the case of the atypical client. One significant correlation which upheld an initial experimental hypothesis was that, for the atypical client, as the counselor's bias score increased, his/her perception of the client as significantly less well-adjusted also increased (there was a random correlation between the two variables for the typical client).

As predicted, there was a positive correlation between client evaluation of counselor bias and actual counselor bias, which reached significance in the case of the typical client. Also as predicted, there was a negative correlation between the client's ability to be open with the counselor and the counselor's bias score. Finally, as client liking for the counselor increased, counselor behavioral bias decreased.

Insert Table 8 about here

DISCUSSION * IMPLICATIONS

Given the low levels of significance of much of the quantifiable data, the fact that several of the specific hypotheses of the study were contradicted, it is unwise and unjustified to make sweeping conclusions. However, although

most of the following interpretation of results is in the nature of a post hoc analysis, nevertheless, several areas emerge as worthy of further investigation.

First, although several specific hypotheses of the study were contradicted, this does not necessarily invalidate the larger the larger assumption on which the study was based. It is still possible to argue that the counseling process involves an element of role typification or socialization, and that the means by which this is effected is through differential counselor reinforcement and extinction of client verbal behavior. However, the findings of the present study suggest that the norms defining appropriate sex roles may be in rapid transition.

Differences in counselors' reactions to typical and atypical clients.

When counselor behavioral responses to typical and atypical clients are compared, it appears that counselors did, in fact, exhibit differential behavior toward the two client roles. However, the direction of this finding was in direct contradiction to the stated hypothesis. Rather than encourage conformity in the atypical client, and nonconformity in the typical client, counselors exhibited more behavioral bias against the typical than against the atypical client. One post hoc explanation is that counselors seemed to have encouraged consistency in their clients' verbal behavior -- whether in the typical or in the atypical direction. Atypical clients were reinforced for being atypical; typical clients were reinforced for being typical. Possibly it may have been more important to the counselors to conceptualize the client as a consistent entity (Festinger, 1957; Meehl, 1962), than to shape her to conform to a sex-role stereotype.

Also contrary to predictions was the finding that counselors reacted more positively to the atypical than to the typical client, and also, according to

both client and rater perception, behaved more responsively and less biasedly with the atypical than with the typical client. These results, coupled with the surprising finding that counselors described the healthy, well-adjusted female as more masculine (instrumental) than the healthy, well-adjusted male, suggest that the traditional woman, whether in the particular (client assessment) or the abstract (responses to the sex-role inventory), is no longer valued by clinicians, at least as measured by counselor verbal report. On the contrary, the "liberated" client made a more positive impression than did the traditional client on the counselors, who subsequently incorporated many of the former's characteristics when describing their ideal woman.

Behavioral and attitudinal differences between male and female counselors.

In this area, examination of the data suggests a synthesis of the two heuristic models presented in the opening sections of this paper. On the one hand, the quantifiable data tended to justify the hypothesis that female counselors would behave in a more "feminist" fashion (i.e., exhibiting less behavioral bias) than would male counselors. But, also according to the quantifiable data, female counselors emerged as more reinforcing and less extinguishing than male counselors, regardless of the client role or client cue sentence to which they were responding. Both questionnaire and other anecdotal data created a picture of the female counselor as feminist, reacting more positively to the atypical than to the typical client, being more liked by the atypical than by the typical client, employing consciousness-raising techniques, setting consciousness-raising goals, actively encouraging astereotypic verbal behaviors on the part of the clients. Further, there was some anecdotal evidence to the effect that female counselors felt more positively, both toward the clients as a whole, and toward the atypical clients in particular, than did the male

counselors. From this frame of reference, it is possible to tentatively conclude that the female counselors were better both at liberating the client from traditional sex stereotypes and at providing a generally supportive therapeutic atmosphere than were their male counterparts.

Differences in counselor response to the two client-confederates. While there were no important behavioral differences in the way the counselors responded to the two client-confederates, questionnaire data indicated that client-confederate 2 was seen less positively by the counselors than was client-confederate 1, but that, surprisingly, client-confederate 2 reacted more positively to the counselors than did client-confederate 1. If one assumes that the counselor rating of the relative adjustment of the two client-confederates was indeed accurate⁴, then one may speculate that clients who are less well-adjusted may first, feel a need for counseling; and second, may develop the necessary expectations that therapy will be beneficial for them. The individual who has no significant problem may not need to evaluate the psychotherapeutic profession so highly. However, perhaps more important than this post hoc rationalization is the conclusion that, while individual differences may not be as important as role differences in terms of counselor behavior, in terms of counselor perception of client and client perception of counselor, they may be at least as important as the role characteristics of the client or the sex of the counselor.

Correlations between counselors' client perceptions, sex-role attitudes, and behavioral bias. Data from this study indicated that there was little relationship between a counselor's perception of the client, his/her sex-role attitudes, and his/her actual behavioral bias. From the correlations which did achieve significance, two conclusions seemed warranted: 1) The more

negatively a counselor reacted to a female client, the more biased he/she behaved. Thus, an overall negative reaction to a client may be an indicator of subsequent sex-typed reinforcement and extinction patterns on the part of the counselor. 2) The more a counselor defined an atypical client as maladjusted, the more biased he/she behaved toward her. Thus, the degree to which atypicality in perceived as maladjustment may be a good predictor of the extent to which a counselor will engage in sex-typed shaping behaviors.

Interestingly enough, client perception of counselors provided some fairly good predictors of counselor behavior bias. In general, the more positively clients evaluated a counselor, the less biased he/she behaved in the actual counseling setting. Conversely, clients reacted negatively to counselors whom they perceived to be confining them to a set of limited attitudinal and behavioral options. Thus client perception of counselor might be used as an indicator of counselor behavioral bias. Both counselor perception of client and client perception of counselor seemed to be somewhat better predictors of counselor behavioral bias than global assessment of counselors' sex-role attitudes.

Implications for Training

This study was originally undertaken with the motivation to make recommendations for improvements in the way counselor training programs currently prepare students to deal with the concerns of contemporary women. The ambiguity of the results makes recommendations seem somewhat premature. However, the study does suggest several points of which to be aware:

1. Counselors may have a tendency to shape clients in the direction of image consistency, regardless of whether or not this is in the clients' best interests. To be locked into any image, whether that of the traditional or

the liberated woman, may be stifling to personal growth. Thus counselors should be encouraged to view individuals as composites of situation-specific behaviors (Mischel, 1968), and avoid molding them to suit their own quickly formulated expectations (Meehl, 1960).

2. There is every indication in this study that the time for consciousness-raising as a component of counselor training programs may be passed. Counselors who describe the healthy woman as even more masculine than the healthy man do not need to be convinced at the attitudinal level that it is acceptable for women to be assertive, independent, instrumental (traditionally masculine traits). Even when interacting with an actual client who clearly deviates from the traditional sex-role norms, both male and female counselors reacted to her more positively and, according to client report, created a more desirable therapeutic atmosphere with her than with her traditional counterpart.

3. Paradoxically, this attitude shift suggests that, contrary to the assumptions of the women's liberation movement, the client who may most be the victim of therapy is not the "liberated" woman, but her more conventional sister. Apparently it is the traditional female client who is more likely to be devalued in the counseling process and more likely to be punished by counselors for statements which deviate from a narrow sex-role conformity. Thus counselors should pay particular attention to their interaction with typical female clients, to insure that they do not stifle their nonconforming impulses or encourage them in a direction which the counselors themselves judge to be limited and unappealing.

4. An area of potential importance for counselor training is the identification of behavioral differences between male and female counselors. The data suggested that male counselors may need special training in learning

to identify sex-role-related concerns being expressed by the client; in being more reinforcing and supportive of astereotypical client statements; and in developing better empathy with clients of the opposite sex. Female counselors, on the other hand, may need a restraining influence to prevent them from indiscriminantly "liberating" all their clients.

SUMMARY AND DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In summary, the results of this study, although inconclusive, suggest the following: Counselors may exhibit a tendency to shape the client toward a self-consistent image, thus behaving in a more biased fashion with the traditional than with the nontraditional female client. Further, the clinical norms which define the ideal woman seem to be changing, with the result that females endorsing traditionally masculine characteristics are becoming positively valued by counselors. In terms of sex differences between male and female counselors, female counselors appear to be somewhat more reinforcing and less punishing with female clients than are male counselors. They may also be behaviorally less biased, and more actively encouraging of astereotypic client verbal behavior. Finally, neither counselor sex-role attitudes, counselor perception of client, or client perception of counselors provided entirely reliable indicators of actual counselor behavioral bias.

Two directions for further research seem worth exploring. First, because of the exploratory nature of the study, the above findings need to be replicated and extended. The current study focused on variables of counselor behavior; it assumed, but did not test, the long-range impact of counselor behavior on client attitudes and behavior. Therefore, in addition to retesting the above hypotheses in studies employing a larger N and a geographically more varied population, further studies should examine whether client verbal

behavior was in fact shaped by counselor patterns of selective reinforcement and extinction. Further studies should also attempt to assess the relationship between client verbal behavior, client self-image, and actual client behavior in the natural environment.

The second focus of further research should aim at the development of intervention packages for application in counselor training programs. Neither the quantifiable nor the anecdotal results of this study justifies the global assumption that counseling oppresses women, or that men are incapable of effectively counseling women. However, they do suggest that in a counseling setting with a female client, it may be necessary to modify certain specific counselor behavior patterns in both male and female counselors in order to allow typical and atypical clients alike more freedom for personal growth and expression. For example, male counselors may need to learn to be more reinforcing of female nonconformity, female counselors less uniformly "liberating," and counselors of both sexes less eager to reinforce client verbal consistency. These and other alterations of counselor interaction style would facilitate counselor receptivity to the ultimate therapeutic goal of a client liberated from all role stereotypes.

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Footnotes

¹Based as much as possible on the findings of current research, the typical client was defined by appearance (traditionally feminine), occupational choice (nurse), and verbal behavior (containing a majority of conforming statements). The atypical client was similarly defined by appearance (more masculine attire), occupational choice (engineer), and verbal behavior (containing a majority of nonconforming statements). BSRI data indicated that, in fact, the two roles were perceived differently, the atypical role being seen by counselors as significantly more masculine than the typical role ($t = 9.17$; $p < .0005$; $df = 12$).

²Conforming client statements contained self-descriptive adjectives and career goals which, based on the findings of previous research (Broverman et al., 1971; Bem, 1974; Spence, 1973), could be regarded as traditionally feminine, while nonconforming client statements contained self-descriptive adjectives and occupational goals which could be regarded as traditionally masculine.

³However, when counselors were divided into two groups, those who saw the healthy, well-adjusted female as androgynous or masculine, and those who saw the healthy, well-adjusted female as feminine, the first group exhibited less behavioral bias than did the second group for both typical and atypical clients.

⁴The assumption that counselors' evaluations of the relative adjustment of the two client-confederates was indeed accurate is quite a large assumption, perhaps unjustified in view of the fact that no corroborating data were presented (e.g., client-confederates were not administered an MMPI, etc.).

In the subjective judgment of the experimenter, in fact the client-confederates revealed much of their "true" selves during the course of the interviews. On the other hand, it is equally plausible to argue that client-confederate 2 simply played her role as less well-adjusted than did client-confederate 1, which is very different from saying that client-confederate 2 was actually less well-adjusted than client-confederate 1.

Table 1

Mean Values for Counselors' Behavioral Bias Scores
for Typical and Atypical Clients; Male and Female
Counselors; and Client-Confederates 1 and 2

Client Role*	Mean Value: Counselor Behavioral Bias Score
Typical	+0.57
Atypical	-0.57
Counselor Sex	
Male	+1.49
Female	-1.45
Client-Confederates	
Client-Confederate 1	+0.18
Client-Confederate 2	-0.17

*
p = .025

Table 2

Mean Values of Counselor Responses to Client Cue
Sentences for Typical and Atypical Clients

Categories of Counselor Response	Mean Value Typical	Mean Value Atypical
Verbal Reinforcement for Conforming Cue	1.28	1.34
Nonverbal Reinforcement for Conforming Cue*	2.10	1.83
Verbal Extinction for Conforming Cue	0.39	0.42
Nonverbal Extinction for Conforming Cue	0.21	0.17
Verbal Reinforcement for Nonconforming Cue	1.12	1.33
Nonverbal Reinforcement for Nonconforming Cue*	1.78	1.90
Verbal Extinction for Nonconforming Cue	0.42	0.40
Nonverbal Extinction for Nonconforming Cue*	0.25	0.12

Note: Each mean value represents the number of counselor statements made in response to each client cue sentence.

*
p = .10

Table 3

Mean Values of Male and Female Counselor
Responses to Client Cue Sentences

Categories of Counselor Responses	Mean Value Male Counselors	Mean Value Female Counselors
Verbal Reinforcement*	1.17	1.37
Nonverbal Reinforcement*	1.02	2.22
Verbal Extinction	0.43	0.39
Nonverbal Extinction**	0.26	0.11

Note: Each mean value represents the number of counselor statements made in response to each client cue sentence.

*
p = .005

**
p = .0005

Table 4

Mean Values of Counselors' Favorable/Unfavorable
Reactions to Typical and Atypical Clients

Male Counselors	Mean Values: Counselor Reaction
Typical Client	5.73
Atypical Client	5.87
Female Counselors	
Typical Client	5.58
Atypical Client	5.95

Note: A higher numerical value indicates a more positive rating.

Table 5

Mean Values for Clients' and Raters'
Favorable/Unfavorable Reactions
to Male and Female Counselors

Clients		Raters	
Male Counselors	Mean Values: Client Reaction	Male Counselors	Mean Values: Rater Reaction
Typical Client	4.42	Typical Client	4.25
Atypical Client	4.92	Atypical Client	4.81
Female Counselors		Female Counselors	
Typical Client	5.50	Typical Client	4.81
Atypical Client	5.83	Atypical Client	5.25

Note: A higher numerical value indicates a more positive rating.

Table 6

Mean Values of Counselors' Favorable/Unfavorable
Reactions to Client-Confederates 1 and 2

Counselors	Client-Confederates	
	1	2
Male	5.92	5.67
Female	5.85	5.67

Note: Higher numerical scores indicate a more positive reaction.

Table 7

Mean Values of Clients' and Raters' Favorable/Unfavorable
Reactions to Counselors According to Individual
Client-Confederate Seen

Client	Client-Confederates	
	1	2
Male Counselors	5.02	6.07
Female Counselors	6.65	6.95
Raters		
Male Counselors	5.06	4.00
Female Counselors	4.81	5.25

Note: Higher numerical scores indicate a more positive reaction.

Table 8

Correlation of Counselor Behavioral Bias Scores
with Client Perception of Counselor and
Counselor Perception of Client

	r Values	
	Typical Client	Atypical Client
CLIENT QUESTIONNAIRE		
Bias Rating of Counselor	+0.49*	+0.17
Ability to Be Open with Counselor	-0.32	-0.47*
Liking for Counselor	-0.59***	-0.32
COUNSELOR QUESTIONNAIRE		
Reaction to Client	-0.52**	-0.33
Assessment of Client Adjustment	+0.08	+0.48*

*p = .05

**p = .025

***p = .01

Perceptions of Freshwomen Dental and Medical

Students by their Freshmen Peers

Harold H. Frank

and

Aaron Honori Katcher

University of Pennsylvania

Once considered the province of the male of the species, today's dental and medical schools are rapidly moving toward sexual integration. Still, women dental and medical students, and women doctors, will find themselves a conspicuous minority for years to come. Women may no longer be confronted with a sexual barrier when applying to medical school, but once admitted, women may become the victims of their male counterparts' definition of their place within the profession; a definition which finds women to be desirable subordinates, acceptable peers, but improbable leaders.

The purpose of this paper is to show how women dental and medical students are perceived by their male peers. Considerable research has been conducted on the problems faced by women seeking to enter the professions and on the difficulties they encounter in institutions of higher learning (Epstein, 1970; Merton, Reader & Kendall, 1957; Soule & Standley, 1973; Theodore, 1971) but comparatively little attention has been directed toward peer perceptions, and the means through which they affect the socialization process. In one recent study, Wolman and Frank (1975) reported observations made on three groups of psychiatric residents and three groups of masters candidates in business administration, each containing one woman. Their study indicated that those women who sought positions of influence by competing openly with men were subjected to intense pressure and ultimate exclusion from the mainstream of

group interaction, while those who avoided direct competition were incorporated within the group structure, but in a subordinate position.

The Wolman and Frank (1975) study was based on detailed investigation of six groups using interviews and direct observation. The present study is designed to replicate the earlier one, with a larger number of groups, and to determine what effect the presence of more than one woman in a group has on the phenomena reported by Wolman and Frank (1975).

Method

To investigate the perception of women professionals by their male colleagues more fully, we studied ten seminar groups of twelve to fifteen dental students in a freshmen behavioral science course, and twenty-four groups of six medical students, in gross anatomy dissection teams. Dental students responded to the Bales (1970) group space questionnaire once in the middle of the term. The medical students responded once at the start of the term and once again at its completion. Each student was asked to complete one questionnaire for each member of his/her group, including the respondent.

An additional subject group of 117 masters candidates in business administration were used to generate profiles of desirable leaders, peers, and subordinates, using the Bales questionnaire.¹

The questionnaire was developed from work in Interaction Process Analysis, a method of classifying interactions between members of groups based on how they communicate with each other, rather than what they communicate (Bales, 1950).² Building on data collected through Inter-

action Process Analysis, Bales constructed a model of group behavior by placing the dimensions of dominance, friendliness and task orientation, in orthogonal relationship to form a three-dimensional space. (See Figure 1).

Insert Figure 1 about here

Each dimension or axis has two end zones and a common center with the other axes. These three regions of each axis produce twenty-seven separate positions in the space. For ease of conceptualization, Bales gave directional names to the dimensions. Thus dominance is upward and submission downward. Friendliness is positive and unfriendliness negative following the convention for the horizontal axis in mathematical graphs. Task orientation is forward, with counter or non-task orientation backward.

The questionnaire which was used to locate subjects in this group interaction space was derived from a list of value statements which were demonstrated to have three orthogonal factors conceptually equivalent to the dimensions of the group space (Bales, 1970, Appendix 5, p. 492). The questionnaire has 26 yes or no questions. The program used to score the questionnaires (Johnson & Frank, Note 1) permitted generation of a composite or average position for each group member within the space based upon both his/her own ranking of him/herself, and the rankings contributed by each of the other group members.

Results

Absolute Position of Individuals

A plot of average position for each member for a six member medical school group is illustrated in Figure 2 using the axes for dominance/submission and task/non-task orientation. The men are noted by circles and the single woman by a hexagon. The lines join members who are located closely together within the three dimensional space.

Insert Figure 2 about here

Figure 3 illustrates the plot of the same group at the second administration of the questionnaire, with the obviously large changes in both position and cohesion.

Insert Figure 3 about here

Table 1 illustrates the distribution of the locations of an "ideal leader" in the group space derived from the questionnaires submitted to the masters candidates. All ideal leaders are perceived as friendly (positive) with dominance and task-orientation being the next most important characteristic, in that order.

Insert Table 1 about here

Eighty-eight percent of ideal leaders were located in three of the 27 positions of the Bales space: UP (dominant and friendly) UPF (dominant, friendly and task-oriented) and PF (friendly and task-oriented).

Bales describes these types as follows:

UP: Toward Social Success (p. 200)

The member located in the upward-positive part of the group space by his fellow members seems to be socially and sexually extroverted, ascendant but at the same time open and friendly. He encourages others to interact to express themselves and give their opinions, but he is neither clearly for the group task nor against it. In the realization of his own values he seems to be trying to move toward social success and popularity. "The most important thing in any group is to maintain a happy, friendly atmosphere, and let efficiency take care of itself." "Cooperation is far more enjoyable and more desirable than competition." "There are always plenty of people who are eager to extend a helping hand."

UPF: Toward Social Solidarity and Progress (p. 208)

The member located in the upward-positive-forward part of the group space by his fellow members seems ascendant and friendly, but he also takes the initiative in leading the group as a whole in the task- or value-oriented direction. In the realization of his own values he seems to be trying

to move toward social solidarity and progress at the same time. "A good group is democratic--the members should talk things over and decide unanimously what should be done."

PF: Toward Altruistic Love (p. 265)

The member located in the positive-forward part of the group space by his fellow members seems agreeable and friendly, task- and value-oriented. He responds to task-oriented attempts of others, but does not take the initiative. He is not submissive, however, nor is he ascendant, but equalitarian. He seems serious and responsible about group agreements. In the realization of his own values, he seems to move toward a kind of dedicated, quiet, altruistic love. "We are all born to love--it is the principle of existence and its only true end."³

Table 2 illustrates the percentage location of medical students, male and female separately in the different portions of the space. These are positions of individuals, not of individuals in groups; a distinction that will become important later. Individual locations, both on first and second administration (T_1 and T_2), indicate that as individuals women are not perceived to have different characteristics from men. At T_1 76% of the men and 77% of the women occupy the three locations in which "ideal leaders" are found (UP, UPF and PF divisions noted by asterisk). The number of individuals in both sexes in these portions of the space decreases from T_1 to T_2 , but again there are no

important differences between men and women.

Insert Table 2 about here

We observed the same distribution of locations in male and female dental students (See Table 3). Sixty-eight percent of the men and 66% of the women were perceived to be in the desirable portion of the group space (divisions noted by asterisk).

Insert Table 3 about here

Relative Positions of Individuals Within Groups

Although there are no obvious distinctions between the locations of men and women in the space, differences do emerge when the location of men and women within specific groups is followed.

In Figure 2, for example, all but one male in this solo woman group are perceived in the dominant, task-oriented portion of the space at T_1 . Although the woman is perceived as dominant, there is one male who is perceived as more dominant, and another who is perceived as equally dominant and more task-oriented. Using both administrations to medical students and the single administration to dental students, we would have expected by chance, 10 groups in which a woman was perceived to be the most dominant and task-oriented member. We found none. There were no groups in which women occupied the spatial positions we have identified

with leadership.

For the medical student groups (See Table 4) we had data at two points in time. In order to understand the data, it was necessary to segregate groups by number of women members.⁴ In the 12 groups with a solo woman, men were perceived as more dominant and less task-oriented at T_2 as compared to T_1 . The women, on the other hand, were perceived as less dominant and more task-oriented at T_2 in comparison to T_1 . We interpreted this finding as indicating that the group interaction in groups with a solo woman resulted in a movement of men toward, and women away from, leadership roles.

A very different picture emerged from groups with three women members. There were four of these groups and in all of them women moved to positions of greater task-orientation and greater dominance between T_1 and T_2 . These were the only groups in which such results were observed. In groups with two women and four men, women were not perceived as more dominant at T_2 .

Discussion

For both dental and medical students there are no qualitative differences in the way that men and women are perceived. We found no evidence for an invidious stereotype of women professional students. Both men and women are by and large perceived as occupying that portion of the Bales space characterized by dominance, friendliness and task-orientation. This is the same portion of the space in which masters candidates placed ideal leaders.

When the position of members relative to one another within groups was examined, women were not found in that portion of the space characterized by high dominance and high task-orientation (UF). The extreme positions in that portion of the space were occupied by men. We interpreted this finding to indicate that women were accepted as peers and subordinates but not as leaders.

This inference was confirmed by the observation that women in groups with only one or two women were perceived as less dominant on retesting. Only women in groups with three women were perceived as more dominant. Only women who had peer support were able to resist the group pressure moving them toward positions of less dominance.

We have used the Bales system in both this study in which group interaction was not directly observed, and in other studies, of self-analytic groups, in which the interaction process has been minutely recorded (Wolman & Frank, 1975). Although more understanding of the factors generating the interaction space is required, it is our opinion that the Bales questionnaire offers a rapid means of summarizing perceptions that group members gain of each other through the process of interaction.

Implications

These observations suggest that attention should be paid to the effects of placing women in different kinds of scholastic work groups, and that the effect of the number of women in such groups on the aspiration and performance of women should be investigated. In particular, we

recommend that when possible work groups should not be constituted with only one woman among male peers. Moreover, both men and women professional students should be given instruction on the effects and manifestations of gender bias, and training in overcoming it.

Reference Note

1. Johnson, M. & Frank, H. A manual for using the Bales group space scoring system (Working Paper No. 142). Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania, Wharton School, Management Department, 1973.

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7. Wolman, C., & Frank, H. The solo women in a professional peer group. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, January 1975, 45 (1), 164-171.

Footnotes

An earlier version of this paper entitled "Effects of Male Norms on Women in Professional Groups," was presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Association for Dental Research, N.Y.C., April 7, 1975 (see AADR Abstracts 1975, p. 386). A more technical treatment of the medical student data may be found in "The Socialization of Freshwomen Medical Students," available from ERIC Clearinghouse on Tests, Measurement, and Evaluation, Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey, 08540.

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1. Bales (1970), p. 6. Two other versions of the questionnaire are included within the text (pp. 12-13). These can be combined or used separately to locate persons in the space (see Chapter 3: A Spatial Model of Group Structure, pp. 30-50).

2. The IPA categories are: 1. Seems Friendly, 2. Dramatizes, 3. Agrees, 4. Gives Suggestions, 5. Gives Opinion, 6. Gives Information, 7. Asks for Information, 8. Asks for Opinion, 9. Asks for Suggestion, 10. Disagrees, 11. Shows Tension, 12. Seems Unfriendly. See pp. 96-97 of the Bales (1970) text for tables showing the relationship

between the categories and positions in the group space.

3. For a fuller discussion of these types see Bales (1970), "Part II: Types of Group Roles and Their Value Directions," pp. 189-388.

4. We are greatly indebted to Dr. Jean Piatt, Professor of Anatomy at the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine for his help in constructing the dissection teams along the gender lines we specified.

Table 1

Percent Distribution of "Ideal Leaders" Across the
Twenty-Seven Positions in the Bales Space

Position	%	Position	%
U	0%	NB	0%
* UP	27%	B	0%
* UPF	45%	PB	0%
UF	0%	DP	1%
UNF	0%	DPF	0%
UN	0%	DF	2%
UNB	0%	DNF	0%
UB	0%	DN	0%
UPB	3%	DNB	0%
P	5%	DB	0%
* PF	16%	DPB	0%
F	0%	D	0%
NF	0%	AVE	0%
N	0%		

* Positions referred to in text

Table 2

Comparison Between Men and Women Medical Students, T_1 and T_2 ,
Across the Twenty-Seven Positions in the Bales Space

T_1					T_2				
Position	$M_1\%$	$W_1\%$	$M_2\%$	$W_2\%$	Position	$M_1\%$	$W_1\%$	$M_2\%$	$W_2\%$
U					NB				
* UP	8.5	15	13	5	B			1	
* UPF	62	45	42	42	PB			2	8
UF	3		1	3	DP	2	2	2.8	5
UNF	1		2	5	DPF	7.6	10	7.6	10
UN	2		1		DF	1		1	
UNB	2		4		DNF			2	
UB			1		DN				
UPB	2	10	13	13	DNB				
P			1		DB				
* PF	5.5	17	2	3	DPB	3	2	1	5
F			2		D				
NF			1		AVE				
N									

* Positions referred to in text

Table 3

Comparison Between Men and Women Dental Students, T₁,
Across the Twenty-Seven Positions in the Bales Space

Position	M%	W%	Position	M%	W%
U	0.8	0	NB	0	0
* UP	15	5.5	E	0.8	0
* UPF	44.2	50.0	PB	0	0
UF	0.8	0	DP	4.2	0
UNF	0	0	DPF	7.5	22.2
UN	0	0	DF	0	0
UNB	1.7	0	DNF	0	0
UB	1.7	0	DN	0	0
UPB	3.3	0	DNB	0	0
P	4.2	0	DB	0	0
* PF	9.2	11.1	DPB	2.5	0
F	0.8	5.6	D	2.5	5.5
NF	0	0	AVE	0.8	0
N	0	0			

* Positions referred to in text

Table 4

Dimensional Averages Per Medical Student, T_1 and T_2

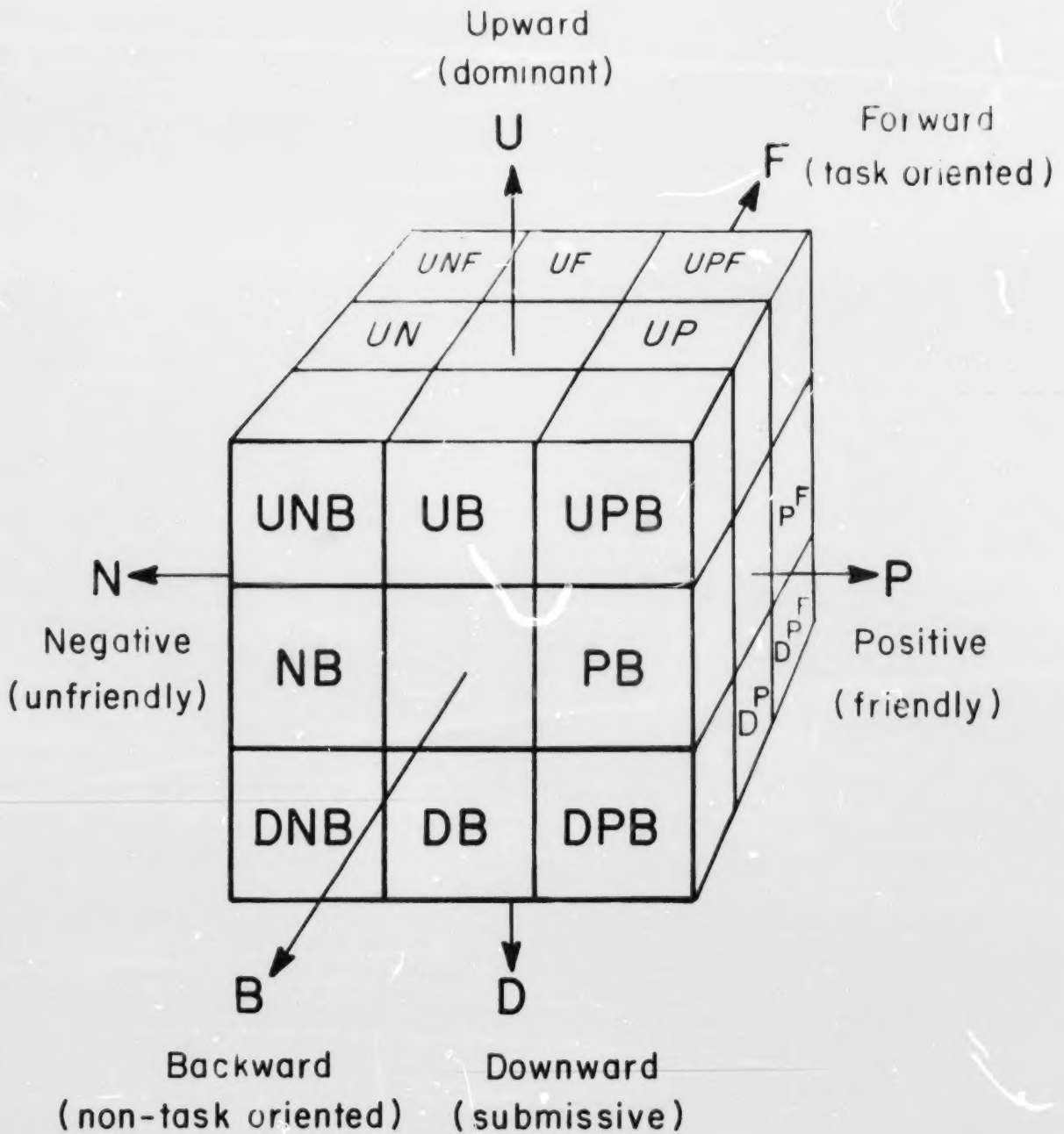
		U(D)				P(N)				F(B)			
		Net Totals		Per Person		Net Totals		Per Person		Net Totals		Per Person	
		F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
One Woman	T_1	19	111	1.58	1.85	45	180	3.75	3.00	5	116	.42	1.93
F = 12 M = 60	T_2	10	128	.83	2.13	43	181	3.58	3.02	10	66	.83	1.10
Direction of Change		Females: less U Males: more U				Females: no change Males: no change				Females: more F Males: less F			
Two Women	T_1	26	82	1.62	2.56	55	100	3.48	3.12	27	73	1.69	2.28
F = 16 M = 32	T_2	21	60	1.31	1.86	38	58	2.38	1.81	21	33	1.31	1.03
Direction of Change		Females: less U Males: less U				Females: less P Males: less P				Females: less F Males: less F			
Three Women	T_1	7	22	.58	1.83	40	18	3.33	1.50	12	22	1.00	1.83
F = 12 M = 12	T_2	14	27	1.17	2.25	31	18	2.58	1.50	24	10	2.00	.83
Direction of Change		Females: more U Males: more U				Females: less P Males: no change				Females: more F Males: less F			

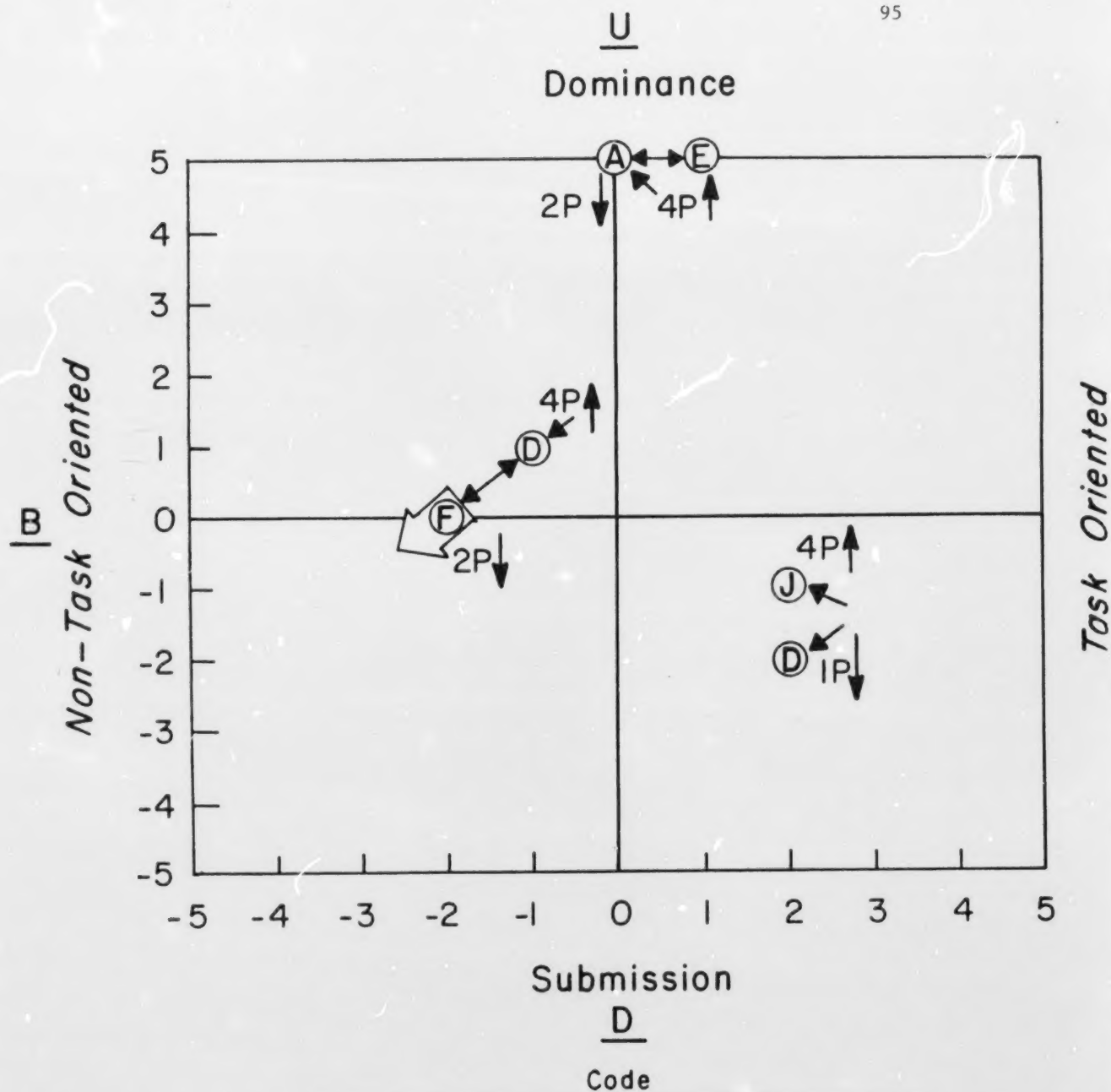
Figure Captions

Figure 1 The Bales Group Space. Observer is at the center of the space with dominance upward, submission downward; friendliness is to the right or positive side of the space, unfriendliness is to the left, or negative side; task orientation is forward and non-task orientation backward. (Adapted from Bales, R.F. and Cohen, S.P. "Systematic Multiple Level Observation of Groups (SYMLOG)," Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138, p. 7).

Figure 2 One Woman in A Group T_1
 (P/N axis shown ₁ by no.'s on graph)
 (Frank & Katcher 1975)

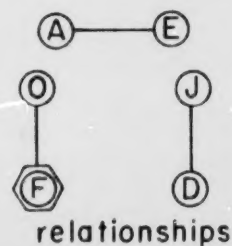
Figure 3 One Woman in A Group T_2
 (P/N axis shown ₂ by no.'s on graph)
 (Frank & Katcher 1975)



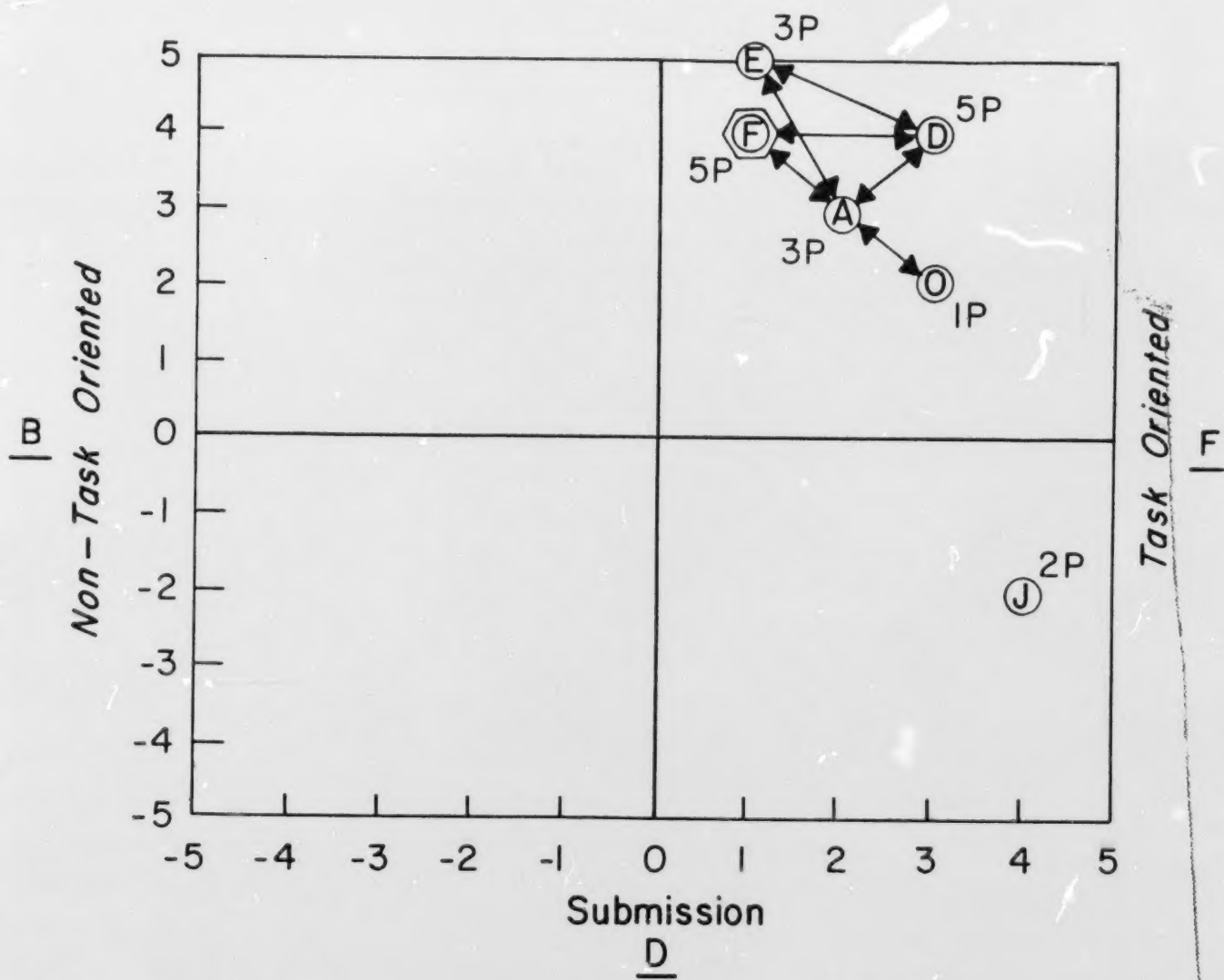


U = upward
 D = downward
 F = forward
 B = backward
 P = positive
 N = negative
 ↑ = direction of movement
 $T_1 - T_2$

F = women

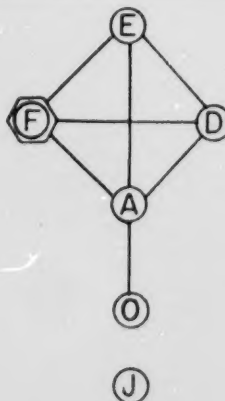


U
Dominance



D
Code

U = upward
D = downward
F = forward
B = backward
P = positive
N = negative
F = women



Sex Status in Teacher Groups

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Women in the field of education are frequently required to participate in mixed-sex decision-making groups, such as teaching teams or committees, but observers of professional women's behavior, and professional women themselves, describe women's participation in such groups as less than optimal. Women professionals report that sex status intrudes into the vocational setting, creating problems in cross-sex communication which interfere with job performance (Bernard, 1967; Epstein, 1970; Rossi, 1970; Simon, Clark, & Galway, 1967). Because women and men high school teachers frequently work together on faculty committees and teaching teams, the research presented here was designed to examine the possibility that sex status affects the decision-making process in teacher groups.

Related Research

The evidence from previous research indicates that men and women do behave differently in mixed discussion groups. The following three generalizations may be drawn from these studies:

1. Men are more active than women. That is, the average man contributes more verbal acts than the average women. This was seen to be true of adults in jury deliberations (Strodtbeck & Mann, 1956); of married couples discussing "revealed differences" in judgment or opinion (Kenkel, 1957;

Sex Status

March, 1953; Strodtbeck, 1951); and even of second and fifth grade children in a classroom situation (Zander & Van Egmond, 1958).

2. Men are more influential than women. In other words, a woman is more likely to yield to a man's opinion than vice versa. This phenomenon has been observed in juries (Strodtbeck, James, & Hawkins, 1957) in husband-wife decision making (Kenkel, 1957); in groups of college students (Tuddenham, MacBride, & Zahn, 1958); and among elementary school children (Zander & Van Egmond, 1958).
3. Men and women differ in interaction style. It has been said that men tend to assume the role of task specialist while women assume the role of social-emotional specialist (Heiss, 1962; Kenkel, 1957; Strodtbeck & Mann, 1956). Men spend a larger percentage of their total interaction making suggestions and giving orientation and opinions to the group. Women, on the other hand, devote a larger share of their total acts to agreeing with or praising others.

Unfortunately, none of these studies involved a situation which closely resembled that of teachers discussing a school-related problem. For this reason, the investigator felt it necessary to examine how well the generalizations held up in an observational setting which more closely approximated the work setting of secondary school teaching.

Sex Status

Theoretical Background: Sex as Status

Culturally patterned sex roles are typically identified as the cause of the observed differences described above. The expectations concerning sex-appropriate behavior, however, are not always consistent. For example, in a recent survey, respondents of both sexes stereotyped women as "talkative" and "quiet" (Rosenkrantz et al., 1968). The Theory of Status Characteristics and Expectation States (Berger, Cohen, & Zelditch, 1966) may provide an alternative way of conceptualizing interaction in mixed groups. This theory proposes that, under specified conditions, persons placed together to work interdependently at a task will seek ways of predicting which persons will be the most competent at the task. When there is no immediately obvious basis for determining relative competence, such as known skill, and the actors possess differing values of a diffuse status characteristic, a general expectation state associated with the status characteristic will come into play. An expectation for greater competence on the part of those high on the characteristic will diffuse to the immediate situation, causing all participants, both those high and those low on the status characteristic, to assume greater competence on the part of the "highs." As a result, it is predicted that the "highs" will take the lead in task resolution, doing more talking and exerting more influence than the "lows."

Both conceptualizations are consistent with the results of past research and it will not be possible in this study to resolve whether one approach provides a more accurate explanation than the other. Why, then, is it useful to describe male-female interaction as a matter of status as opposed

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to sex role? One reason is that the words used in the two conceptualizations direct attention to different interpretations of the behavior described. Speaking of sex roles tends to emphasize the complementary aspects of sex role specialization. The fact is stressed that men and women tend to play different, but equally necessary, roles. The fact that they also differ in power and influence is acknowledged, but not highlighted. Status Characteristic Theory, on the other hand, places the emphasis squarely on the power and prestige ordering which arises in line with the status dimension. Attention is directed to the dysfunctions of status-ordered behavior when it becomes apparent that low status persons make fewer contributions to a group and the suggestions they do make are less likely to be accepted. In addition, this theory spells out the process through which a status ordering arises and thereby provides guidance to the experimenter who would intervene to alter the effects of a status characteristic.

Theoretically, sex fits the formal definition of a diffuse status characteristic (D) as stated by Berger et al. (1966:33).

1. There are two or more states of D which are differentially evaluated. Kohlberg (1966:105) reviews the literature on early gender stereotypes and concludes that "by age five-six, children award greater power, strength, and competence (and consequently more status) to the male." Numerous studies have found that both sexes evaluate males more favorably than females (Broverman et al., 1970; Fernberger, 1948; Kitay, 1940; MacBrayer, 1960; McKee & Sherriffs, 1957; Rosenkrantz, et al., 1968; Sherriffs & Jarrett, 1953; Smith, 1939).

2. To each state or D there corresponds a distinct set of specifically associated, evaluated states of characteristics.

Given trait or adjective checklists subjects will identify a great many characteristics as being either masculine or feminine and will do so with a high degree of agreement. Subjects will also evaluate these traits as more or less favorable, generally assigning a higher value to stereotypically masculine characteristics (McKee & Sherriffs, 1957; Rosenkrantz et al., 1968).

3. To each state of D there corresponds a distinct general expectation state having the same evaluation as the state D.

The existence of a general expectation state is evidenced by the global comparisons which people are willing to make of men and women. In two studies, over 90 percent of male respondents and over 80 percent of female respondents said they considered men superior to women "overall" (Fernberger, 1948; McKee & Sherriffs, 1957). A majority of each sex also endorses the statement that men possess higher general intelligence than women (Fernberger, 1948; Sherriffs & Jarrett, 1953).

Although mixed teacher groups would seem to fall within the conditions described by the theory, it is possible that common professional training and

Sex Status

experience may suppress the effect of sex status. Seashore (1968) found that the effect of a differentiating status characteristic was inhibited when subjects were told that a fellow participant differed from themselves on one status dimension but was equal to them on two others. If high school teachers tend to think of themselves primarily as professionals having similar training and organizational rank, their status as males or females would not be relevant and sex would not act as a diffuse status characteristic in teacher work groups.

Hypotheses

This study tests three hypotheses concerning men and women teachers interacting over a professional problem. The first two could have been derived from either Status Characteristic Theory or the empirical generalizations described above.

Hypothesis 1: The men will initiate more verbal acts than the women.

Hypothesis 2: Men will hold the position of most influential group member more often than will women.

Status Characteristic Theory does not include differential predictions regarding interaction style. The third hypothesis was based on sex differences in types of initiation observed in previous research.

Hypothesis 3: Men will initiate a larger proportion of their acts in the "performance output" category, while women will initiate a larger proportion of their acts in the "positive reactions" category.

Procedure

Overview

Twenty-four person groups, each composed of two male and two female secondary teaching majors, were given a school-related problem to discuss and a 25-minute time limit for arriving at consensus on a solution. There were no appointed or elected leaders for the discussions. The interaction was recorded on videotape and scored by two sets of observers. One set coded task-related interaction; the other coded specific types of social-emotional behavior. Data were also obtained from post-discussion questionnaires completed by the subjects and from the observers' evaluations of the discussions.

The Task

The task was a case study concerning a dropout recently returned to school and applying for a part-time job at the school. Subjects were told they were to act as the committee administering the work-study program and that they were entirely responsible for deciding what to do with the boy's application. If they agreed to give him the job, they were to outline a set of recommendations to be used by the teacher supervising the student. In giving instructions to the groups, the investigator emphasized that the members of each group were matched on training and experience so that they would have the same ability to contribute to the task discussion.

Selection of Subjects

A screening questionnaire was used in recruiting juniors and seniors from education classes at two state colleges. The members of each group were matched on age level, the number of education courses completed, and on practice teaching experience. All students had done extensive classroom observation;

about a third had completed student teaching. To minimize the possibility that subjects had already evaluated each other, groups were constructed in such a way that all members of a given group had been recruited from different classes. Because race has been shown to act as a diffuse status characteristic (Cohen, 1972), persons of visible minority status were not included in the subject pool.

Observation of Task-Related Acts

Two observers, one male and one female, coded all verbal statements, except jokes, into the following categories which were derived from Status Characteristic Theory and the work of Bales (1951).

1. Performance outputs were task-related statements, such as suggestions or opinions.
2. Action opportunities were questions or statements seeking the input of others.
3. Positive reactions were agreements or praise.
4. Negative reactions were disagreements and criticisms.

Since the subjects were highly task-oriented and seldom joked, this system can be considered virtually exhaustive of all verbal acts. An act was defined as a continuous speech addressed to an individual or the group as a whole.

A speech was considered continuous, regardless of pauses, as long as (1) it was not interrupted by another person, (2) it remained in one category of type of act, and (3) it remained addressed to the same person. In addition to the type of act classifications, the observers noted the number of the person making the remark (the initiator) and that of the person to whom it was addressed (the recipient). Data from this scoring system were used to test hypotheses 1 and 3.

Observation of Social-Emotional Acts

Two other observers, again one female and one male, coded verbal and nonverbal acts into five categories of social-emotional behavior: (1) joking; (2) laughing; (3) signs of tension -- for example, giggling, stammering, and twisting one's hair; (4) successful interruptions, and (5) unsuccessful interruption attempts. Data from this scoring procedure were used to evaluate the reactions of others to women who were active or influential in their groups.

Inter-Observer Reliability

Inter-observer reliability checks were made on the basis of independent scorings of the same groups by two observers. Comparisons were made between the observers' totals in the following categories:

1. Initiation -- the total number of acts initiated by each group member;
2. Reception -- the total number of acts received by each group member and by the group as a whole;
3. Type-Act -- the total number of acts classified within each type of act category.

A chi-square test of significance was employed to determine whether the disagreement in the observers' totals could reasonably be attributed to chance. A probability of .80 or above that disagreement between observers was due to chance was designated as the minimum acceptable level of reliability. Randomly selected checks were made over the course of the scoring period by assigning the same group to both observers approximately 30 percent of the time. In all but one instance, inter-observer reliability surpassed the criterion level.

The Influence Measure

The two indicators used to measure influence were:

- (1) being the initiator of the most winning suggestions of the group, that is, being the first person to propose most of the ideas included in the final decision, and
- (2) being the primary advocate of the most winning suggestions, i.e., speaking in support of the ideas included in the decision more often than any other member.

Scoring involved working backward from the stated final decision of a group. The tapes were carefully reviewed in order to record the initiator of each winning suggestion and the number of times each member spoke in support of a winning suggestion.

Results

Initiation

The behavior of any individual in a small group is closely related to the actions and responses of the other group members; it is therefore most meaningful to use the group as the unit of analysis whenever possible. A simple way to examine the relationship between status ordering and sex is to rank each of the participants in a group on the basis of the total number of task acts initiated and then look at the probability of a man or woman holding a particular rank. Table 1 shows the number of times a rank order position on task initiation was held by men and women.

Table 1 about here

These data indicate that the greatest differences between men and women appear in the higher ranks. Women are much less likely to hold the first rank but are more likely to hold the second rank; they are only slightly more likely than men to hold ranks three and four.

Another way to compare initiation rates is to rank the individuals of the same sex in a group by activity level. The man with the higher initiation rate of the two males is labeled "Man I," the other man is called "Man II." Similarly, of the two women in a group, the one initiating more acts is called "Woman I," and the other is called "Woman II." A sign test can be performed by counting the number of times Man I initiated more acts than the corresponding Woman I and the number of times Man II out-talked Woman II. This analysis is presented in Table 2, and the results are supportive of Hypothesis 1.

Table 2 about here

Overall, men initiated an average of 56 percent of all the task acts, while women contributed 44 percent of the total task-related activity.

Influence

In 15 of the 20 groups the same individuals both initiated most of the winning suggestions and served as the primary supporter of most winning ideas, making the most influential person an obvious choice. When the initiator was not also the prime supporter (4 groups), the prime supporter was defined as the most influential. In one group, the behaviors considered in the influence measure were performed virtually equally by two persons, making it impossible to designate anyone as most influential. As Table 3 illustrates, only 5 of the influential persons were women. Men dominated both parts of the influence measure, contributing 64 percent of the winning suggestions and acting as the primary supporters of 73 percent of the ideas included in final decisions.

Table 3 about here

Type of Act Initiation

In order to compare initiation rates of men and women by type of act category, the percentage of each person's total task initiation falling into each of the four categories was computed. These individual percentages were then averaged for all men and for all women (Table 4).

Table 4 about here

On the average, a man's interaction profile contains about 11 percent more performance outputs than a woman's profile. This difference is nearly balanced by the positive reactions category in which the female contains about 10 percent more contributions than the male profile. Using the Mann-Whitney test, sex comparisons on both types of initiation are statistically significant. Men are more likely than women to use performance outputs ($p < .005$); women are more likely than men to give positive evaluations ($p < .05$).

Discussion

The results of this study indicate that women involved in decision making concerning a professional task display the passive behavior patterns observed previously in mixed task groups. Since there is no reason to believe that the sexes differed in competence, we may infer that the women did not contribute to the full extent of their ability. But the question must remain unanswered as to whether this restriction of activity resulted from perceived lack of competence, as proposed by Status Characteristic Theory, or whether it represents compliance with a sex role norm. Post hoc analyses were carried out to see whether women in teacher groups who violate sex role norms by assuming leadership positions are likely to face negative reactions from other group members.

There were seven women who were either the most active or the most influential member of their group, including two who led their groups in both respects. Data from the post-discussion questionnaire and from the social-emotional observations scheme were examined to see if they encountered negative responses. Apparently, they did not. Each subject ranked all members of his group on guidance, quality of ideas, leadership, influence, tact, cordiality, and likeability. When the ratings received by the seven women were compared to those received by similarly active or influential men, there were few differences. If anything, the women received slightly better ratings, especially on cordiality. The observers agreed, rating groups with assertive women as slightly more cordial than other groups. These women were no more likely than men to be interrupted, and their groups did not display high rates of tension or joking.

The interaction profiles of assertive men and women provide evidence that the women's behavior may actually have been more pleasant than that of the men. A number of the men had exceptionally "masculine" interaction styles. They devoted unusually large proportions of their acts to performance outputs and spent little time reacting to the ideas of others. By contrast, the women displayed an intensely "feminine" style, giving many positive reactions to others.

Is it possible that women achieve leadership through "sex-appropriate" behaviors? This question cannot be answered here, but there is evidence that women do suffer loss of influence if they are unpleasantly assertive. Wahrman and Pugh (1974) describe an experiment involving groups composed of three male college students and a male or female confederate who violated group procedural rules, interrupted others, criticized their ideas, and suggested

that his or her own ideas be followed. Such nonconformity by a man led to increased influence and increased desirability as a co-worker, but for a woman it led to decreased influence and desirability. From an analysis of "liking" scores, the authors conclude that men discount the value of cordiality when selecting a male co-worker, but they demand cordiality of a female co-worker.

Similar results are reported by Wolman and Frank (1975) who observed six self-analytic groups over a period of several months. Three groups were composed of graduate students in business administration; three involved first-year psychiatric residents. Each contained four or five men and a single woman. The men in these groups appeared threatened by a woman's assertive behavior and did not allow the woman to participate actively or compete for status within the group. The authors conclude that a woman in this situation would be well advised to restrict all behavior and remain inconspicuous.

Is it likely that women who assert themselves in teacher groups will face the sort of resistance reported by Wolman and Frank? Perhaps not. The teaching situation differs in two potentially important ways. First, since teaching is a less sex-typed profession than business or psychiatry, the woman teacher is less likely to find herself the lone woman in an otherwise all-male group. Even when she does, her presence is less likely to be viewed as violating an all-male group norm. Second, although the psychiatry and business groups were not meant to be competitive in nature, they did involve students in a formal training experience who were in a position to be observed and evaluated by powerful others (their professors and supervising doctors). Since most teacher groups are teaching teams or committees which are seldom observed by a supervisor, less cause might exist for competitiveness or one-upmanship.

The results of the experiment with prospective teachers indicate, however, that maintaining an equal sex balance and removing causes for competitiveness will not insure women's full participation in decision making. If sex is viewed as a diffuse status characteristic, then attempts to change racial status orderings in small groups may suggest additional strategies for modifying male dominance in teacher groups.

Lohman (1970) used a role modeling technique to train black youths in behaviors known to contribute to influence in a particular decision making game. When these subjects then played the game in groups of two whites and two blacks, they were as active and influential as the whites. Blacks not given the training were significantly less active and influential than whites. Cohen and Roper (1972) report, however, that treatments affecting only those low on a status characteristic are unlikely to produce an effect which will transfer to other task encounters because one instance of successful performance may not alter a general expectation that persons low on a status characteristic are less competent. These researchers arranged for black youths to demonstrate high ability on two different tasks in the presence of white youths and had an adult endorse the ability of the blacks. After this treatment, which was designed to affect the expectations of both races, blacks and whites interacted as status equals on a third task.

These results suggest that providing women teachers with training in specific group skills may improve their participation in a limited number of highly similar situations. To increase the effectiveness of women in a wider range of settings, one might try enlisting the cooperation of a principal or department head to create opportunities for women to demonstrate their competence before male colleagues and to provide public recognition of the women's performance.

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Table 1

Relationship of Rank Order on Task Initiation
to Sex of Participant in Twenty Groups^a

Rank	Number of Groups Where S with This Rank Is Male	Number of Groups Where S with This Rank is Female
High Rank	16	4
Second Rank	7	13
Third Rank	9	11
Low Rank	8	12

^a $\chi^2(3) = 10.00$ $p < .02$.

Table 2

Statistical Comparisons of Total Task Initiation Rate
by Sex and Activity Category Using the Sign Test

Comparison	Level of Significant Differences (Two-Tailed)
Man I Woman I (16 pairs vs. 4 pairs)	p. < .02
Man II Woman II (12 pairs vs. 8 pairs)	not significant
All Pairs Combined (28 pairs vs. 12 pairs)	p. < .02

Table 3

Sex of Most Influential Group Member^aMale

14

Female

5

$$\chi^2(1) = 3.37 \quad p < .10.$$

Table 4

Average Percentage of Acts in Four Type-Act Categories
by Sex of S

Sex	Performance Outputs	Action Opportunities	Positive Reactions	Negative Reactions	TOTALS
Men	71.76	7.70	17.91	2.64	100.01
Women	60.57	9.24	27.57	2.63	100.01

The Modification of Female Leadership

Behavior in the Presence of Males

Marlaine E. Lockheed

Educational Testing Service

Introduction

The original conceptualization of this research, reflected in the title of this paper, was to examine "The Modification of Female Leadership Behavior in the Presence of Males." In retrospect, the study might better have been called, "The Modification of Male Leadership Behavior in the Presence of Females," for it was the case that male behavior -- not female behavior -- varied according to group composition. Thus the often documented finding that females seldom emerge as leaders in mixed-gender groups is more a function of male hyperactivity than of female passivity. As work groups in schools and the professions more often come to be composed of both men and women, this male hyperactivity may constitute a serious detriment to the equitable contribution of all group members. It is the purpose of this paper to present some evidence supportive of this point of view and consistent with a general theory.

There is considerable evidence from previous research that men and women do behave differently in mixed-gender discussion groups. The following three generalizations may be drawn from these studies:

1. Men are more active than women; that is, the average man initiates more verbal acts than the average woman. This was true of adults in jury deliberations (Strodtbeck, James & Hawkins, 1957; Strodtbeck & Mann, 1956) and of dating and engaged couples discussing "revealed differences" in opinion (Heiss, 1962). The pattern of greater verbal activity on the part of

males has appeared as early as age seven. Zander and Van Egmond (1958) gave second-and-fifth-grade children a series of problems to solve through group discussion and observed that the little boys did significantly more talking than their female classmates.

It appears, however, that the nature of the relationship shared by the participants and the topic under consideration can influence the strength of this pattern. Heiss' (1962) sample was divided into three conditions: casual daters, steady daters, and engaged couples. The degree of male dominance decreased as the intimacy of the relationship increased. With engaged couples, the male was more talkative in only slightly more than one-half (52.3%) of the cases. Shaw and Sadler (1965) reported similar findings that among married couples males and females were equally active, but in mixed-gender dyads of strangers the males took the initiative more often, breaking the silence twice as often as the females. Kenkel (1957) also found that men initiated more speeches when married couples discussed how they would spend a gift of \$300. The effect of subject matter was demonstrated by March (1953), who observed the proportion of "opinion-giving and orientation-giving remarks" contributed by the husband in husband-wife discussion of political issues. Overall, husbands contributed 55% of the acts and wives contributed 45%, but the degree of male leadership varied, being highest on labor issues, intermediate on questions of foreign policy, and lowest on local political matters.

An exception to the general pattern of male activity is reported by Askinas (1971). In groups of college freshmen from coed dormitories, the women talked more than the men. These groups differed from the earlier studies in that they were friendship groups and not highly task-oriented.

Despite these differences, this study is more recent than the others cited and raises the possibility that the pattern described above may no longer be accurate, at least for some types of mixed groups.

The relevance of activity to perceived leadership has been investigated by a number of researchers. Generally speaking, the more active a member of a group is, the more likely that member is to be perceived as the leader by other group members (Lana, Vaughan & McGinnies, 1960; Marak, 1964; Morris & Hachman, 1969; Zdep, 1969; Zdep & Oakes, 1967). Because of their lower activity rates, women are less likely to be perceived by others as group leaders.

2. A second generalization is that men are more influential than women. In other words, a woman is more likely to yield to a man's opinion than vice versa. One study (Tuddenham, MacBride, & Zahn, 1958) observed the extent to which students yielded to a distorted norm in single-sex and mixed-sex groups. Men yielded less when women were included in the group than they did in all-male groups. Women yielded more with men present than in all-female groups. Whittaker (1965) studied the degree to which students were influenced by the judgment of a confederate in the autokinetic light situation. When the confederate was a male, both male and female subjects were influenced to a much greater degree than the men. When the confederate was a woman, however, both male and female subjects were influenced negatively; that is, they shifted their judgments away from those of the female confederate. The males diverged from the confederate to a significantly greater extent than the women subjects.

In the jury studies, Strodbeck et al. (1957) asked each "juror" to make a prior judgment as to the best settlement. Comparing the jury's final

decision to the earlier judgments, they designated those persons who shifted their predeliberation positions the least as being the most influential. With occupation held constant, women were less likely to be elected as foremen. Kenkel (1957) found that husbands were more likely to have a high level of influence in husband-wife decision-making, but that the difference was not as great as the couples themselves expected it to be. Zander and Van Egmond (1958) reported that the boys in their classroom groups were much more involved in the entire influencing process than the girls. Boys made more influence attempts, both successful and unsuccessful ones, than did girls. In a study of group problem-solving ability, Hoffman and Maier (1961) similarly found more females than males changing from correct to incorrect answers after a group discussion of the problem, but on the other hand found no difference between the proportion of males and females shifting from an incorrect to a correct answer.

3. The third generalization is that men initiate a higher proportion of their acts than women in task-oriented categories of behavior, while women initiate a higher proportion of their acts in social-emotional categories.

This means that men spend a larger percentage of their total interaction making suggestions and giving orientation and opinions to the group than do women. Women, on the other hand, devote a larger share of their total acts to agreeing with, or praising others. This pattern has been noted by Strodtbeck and Mann (1956), Heiss (1962), Kenkel (1957), Borgatta and Stimson (1963), and most recently by Piliavin and Martin (Note 1). March (1953), in his study of husband-wife interaction over political issues, did not report on acts in the "social-emotional positive" categories, but did indicate that husbands contribute a larger share of the acts classified as "attempted answers."

Sex as a Status Characteristic

The authors of the small group studies from which the above generalizations were drawn all attribute the differences observed to culturally patterned sex roles. The preceding generalizations concerning initiation and influence also fit the predictions derived from the theory of status characteristics and expectation states (Berger, Cohen & Zelditch, 1972; Berger, Conner & Fisek, 1974).

This theory postulated that when a group is working on a valued task, when there is some competence which is instrumental to the successful completion of the task, when the individuals in the group are task-focused and collectively oriented, and finally, when the individuals involved differ on one and only one diffuse status characteristic -- under these four conditions, the group members will expect the high status individuals to be more competent at the task. Status, in this case, refers to the value attributed to the different states of the differentiating characteristic. That is, for example, the characteristic "gender" has two different states: male and female. With each state of the characteristic is associated a value, a set of specific evaluated competencies and a general expectation state having the same value as the state of the characteristic.

Expectation states theory predicts that under the conditions just mentioned the relative power and prestige of group members will be determined by their relative status. If "gender" functions as a status characteristic, therefore, with the male state more highly valued than the female state, the theory predicts that males will be more likely to hold positions of power and prestige in mixed-gender groups than will females.

Following the reasoning of the foregoing theory, the present study was designed to answer three questions: (1) is the task orientation of males and females working on a task together different; (2) is the task orientation of males and females working separately on a task different; and (3) if there are any differences, will status theory account for them?

Procedure

In order to examine the effect of the status characteristic "gender" on task oriented leadership of mixed-sex groups, the following study took place. Forty male and forty female high school students matched on age, verbal ability, and cognitive style were assigned to work on a group task known only as "The Game." All subjects played "The Game" twice. Half the subjects worked first in four-person groups of unacquainted persons of their own gender, while half of the subjects worked first in groups composed of two males and two females who were also all unacquainted. For the second round, those who had played first in a single-gender group played in a mixed-gender group. Groups were completely recomposed between rounds of "The Game," so that no individuals played with any other individual twice.

Because the study sought to investigate the effect of female status on the emergence of female leadership (and, incidentally, the effect of male status on the emergence of male leadership), an experimental environment had to be created that was balanced as to males and females and hence initially equal in status for both. In order to accomplish this, several steps were taken. First, there were two male and female host experimenters. Second, the instructions for "The Game," were tape recorded three times, once by a female voice, once by a male voice, and once by male and female voices alternating. Third, the single-gender groups were assigned a host experimenter of

the same gender and listened to the recorded instructions in the same gender voice; the mixed-gender groups were equally divided according to the sex of the host experimenter and listened to the instructions spoken by alternating male and female voices.

The task which the groups worked on was a board game, the object of which was to move a token from one side of a board to the other, moving along a set of interconnected paths and accumulating points. Winning the game was defined as reaching the goal in fourteen rolls of the die. An incentive was a hypothetical "high score" which the team was encouraged to surpass. "The Game" requires collective decision-making, is apparently valued, and is ambiguous, lacking any rational "best strategy." It permits many alternative suggestions which must be resolved into a group decision, and permits the observation of emergent leadership.

The entire game sequence was recorded on videotape. The number of task-related remarks initiated by each group member was counted by observers coding the tapes. This data serves as the basis for the ensuing analysis.

Results

The first question to be answered is: do females and males differ with regard to the extent to which they are task-oriented? Task orientation was measured by counting the total number of acts serving to move the game toward its goal, which were initiated by each person.

Table 1 shows that, as far as group totals are concerned, male groups and female groups are equally task oriented, with male groups having a lower mean for initiation but greater variance. What is notable about Table 1, however, is that the mixed-gender groups are so much more active than the all-male groups ($t = 2.40$; $p < .05$). It seems that if male groups and female groups do not differ as to task oriented activity, then groups of both males

and females should not be so much more active than either male or female groups. We would like to know to which sex -- if either -- this greater activity may be attributed.

According to status characteristic theory, males will be more active than females in mixed-gender groups. As Table 2 shows, it is true that the average male appears to initiate more task-related acts than does the average female in a mixed-gender group. (A statistical test is not appropriate, as these are dependent measures). However, while the average female initiates neither more nor less mixed groups than in all-female groups, the average male initiates significantly more in groups of males and females than he initiates in all-male groups ($t = 2.76$; $p < .001$). This accounts, therefore, for the finding that mixed-gender groups are more active than single-gender groups. When males engage in collective tasks with females they exhibit greater activity than when they engage in similar tasks with other males.

It was noted that half the subjects played the game initially in mixed-gender groups, while half played the game initially in either all-male or all-female groups. Those who played first in a single-gender group had an opportunity to develop a self-expectation for their own competence at "The Game" without reference to the relative competence of males and females; such groups were "experienced" as to the task. Those who played "The Game" first in a mixed-gender group were most likely to be influenced by expectations external to the game; such groups were "naive" as to the task. In short, we would anticipate greater differences between the amount of task-oriented activity exhibited by males and females in naive mixed-gender groups than in experienced mixed-gender groups.

As Table 3 indicates, females who had an opportunity to form a self-evaluation of their own competence vis-à-vis the task independent of males, are significantly more active in mixed-gender groups ($t = 2.876$; $p < .005$). The group of females who obtained their experience in an all-female setting appear to be equally as active as the males in either setting.

Although the previous analyses help to dispell the prevalent notion that males are ipso facto more task-oriented than females, they shed little light on the extent of status differentiation, based on gender, that occurs within groups. One problem which frequently confronts researchers dealing with intra-group phenomena is that most parametric statistics are designed to test for group differences on independent measures. The interactions of individuals in groups are far from independent; measures taken of such interactions are equally dependent.

This need for a statistical tool to help analyze status discrepancies within groups led to generating a hypothetical distribution of such activity, using a computer assisted technique known as a "Monte Carlo."¹ One hundred four-person groups were simulated. The number of acts initiated by each hypothetical group member (a statistical individual) was converted to a percent of the group's total. Means and standard deviations of the percentage of acts initiated by the statistical individuals, ordered by magnitude of measure in session, are given in Figure 1.

Against the standard provided by the Monte Carlo, it is possible to examine status differences within groups. Figure 1 presents the percentage of acts initiated by the more active and less active males and females in mixed-gender groups, and compares these figures with the Monte Carlo data.

In naive mixed-gender groups, the status differential between males and females is greater. While the more active male is not statistically different from the most active statistical individual, the more active female is only as active as the third most active statistical individual. Furthermore, while the less active male is not statistically different from the third most active statistical individual, the less active female is not statistically different from the least active statistical individual. All other comparisons between actual and statistical individuals show significant differences. It is possible to say, therefore, that in naive mixed-gender groups the more active male is more active than both the females and that the less active male is both as active as the more active female and more active than the less active female. In short, over a set of task groups whose members have no other basis than gender for attributing task competence to themselves or others, a pattern of male dominance -- but not female inactivity -- emerges.

A somewhat different pattern of task leadership occurs when the group members have had a prior experience of the task from which to obtain a self-evaluation of competence relative to the task. In this case, while the more active male is again as active as the most active statistical individual, the more active female is both significantly more active than the second most active statistical individual and less active than the most active statistical individual. The less active female is not significantly different from the third most active statistical individual, while the less active male is significantly less active than the least active statistical individual. Thus, in these experienced groups, while the more active male is still more active than the more active female, the difference is not so great as before; and the less active male has become significantly less active than both of the females. That is, the degree to which the expectations associated with states

of the diffuse status characteristic "gender" are able to influence emergent task leadership may be modified by an experience which provides males and females an opportunity to evaluate their own competence without regard to gender.

Implications

The implication this study has for the understanding of professional socialization is more tantalizing than definitive, and is fraught with limitations. The primary limitations are, of course, that the study dealt with high school students and not with professionals and that the task was a game and not a serious problem. Analogies seldom replicate the full complexity of real-life situations.

The study does suggest, however, that simply equalizing educational opportunities for males and females -- for which the naive mixed-gender groups were an analog -- is not sufficient to alter the pattern of male leadership which is characteristic of this society. As long as there are widespread beliefs that males are somehow "better" than females, then work groups -- be they classrooms, teams of scientific researchers, or presidential cabinets -- will have male leadership with its consequent influence. Furthermore, the problem does not appear to be, as initially hypothesized, that women need to become as assertive with males as they are with females. It is not the case that female leadership is modified in the presence of males; rather, it appears that male leadership is modified in the presence of females.

More equal participation may be achieved, however, under certain conditions. This study suggested that the type of males and females best able to work together in an equal status manner may be those who previously developed self-expectations for competence at the particular task by learning

the task first with members of their own sex. Perhaps sex-segregated learning of identical skills may be temporarily needed. This should only be thought of as one possible and temporary step, designed to correct the problem that although separate may be inherently unequal, together in this case seems to be also unequal. In a society in which men and women are unequal, treating boys and girls equally will only result in producing men and women who are unequal. Intervention, rather than further research, is needed.

Reference Notes

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Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations of Total
Task-Related Acts Initiated in Four-Person Groups

Group Type	Mean Acts Initiated	S.D.
Female (N = 8 groups)	91.4	12.77
Male (N = 10 groups)	82.5	26.88
Mixed (N = 17 groups)	103.5	18.56

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations of Individual Task-Related Acts
Initiated by Males and Females in Four-Person Groups

Gender of Subject	Mean Acts Initiated	S.D.
<u>Female</u>		
In female group (N = 32)	23.31	8.63
In mixed group (N = 34)	24.41	9.23
<u>Male</u>		
In male group (N = 40)	22.13	11.88
In mixed group (N = 34)	27.32	12.18

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations of Individuals Task-Related Acts Initiated
by Males and Females in Naive and Experienced Mixed-Gender Groups

Gender of Subject		Mean Acts Initiated	S.D.
<u>Female</u>			
In naive group	(N = 16)	19.93	6.28
In experienced group	(N = 18)	28.38	9.76
<u>Male</u>			
In naive group	(N = 16)	28.31	9.92
In experienced group	(N = 18)	26.44	14.04

Percent
Utterances

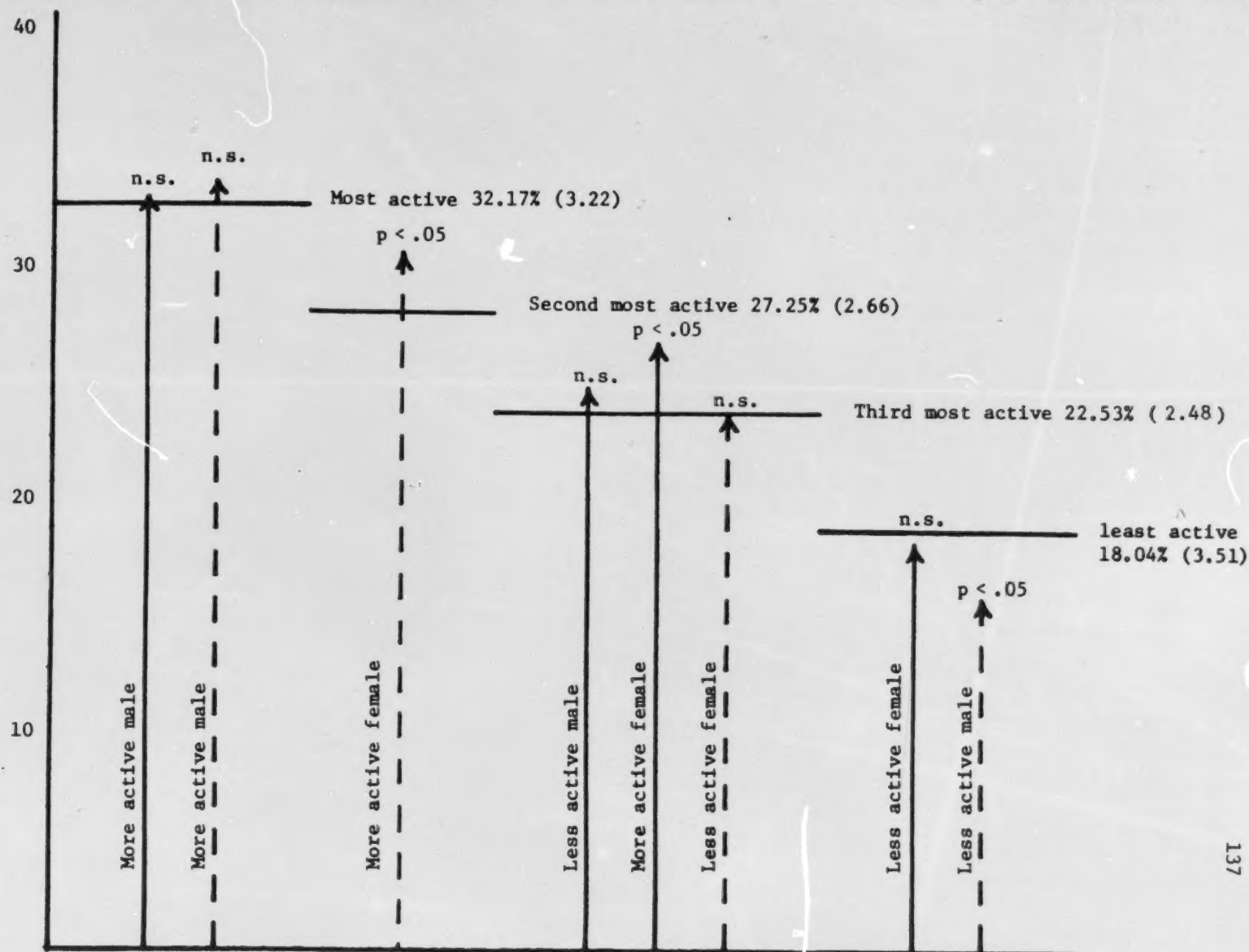


Figure 1

Comparisons of the Mean Percent of Utterances of statistical individuals in four-person groups, ordered by magnitude of contribution within group, to Mean Percent of Task Oriented Acts of males and females in four-person groups, ordered by sex and by magnitude of contribution within group.